THE
MODERN CHURCHMAN

By identifying the new learning with heresy, you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance.—*Erasmus*

A State without the means of change is without the means of its conservation.—*Edmund Burke.*

No. 2 JUNE Vol. XLIV

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Lord Justice Denning and the Innocent Party

Lord Justice Denning, addressing the Conference of the National Association of Probation Officers at Harrogate on May 2, after condemning lax views on adultery which he described as a 'form of stealing,' and its increasing condonation in social life proceeded to deal with the attitude of our Church authorities to the re-marriage in church of the innocent party in a divorce. He said, as reported in the *Times* of May 3 :

> 'I often wonder whether the Church is right to set its face against re-marriage in the church after divorce. Anyone who has sat in the Divorce Court knows that there are a great many cases where one party is entirely innocent—for instance, cases during the war when the wife, while her husband was away on war service, went off with another man and had a family by him. If the innocent husband should afterwards meet an innocent girl, why should not the two be married in church?
>
> 'It would give them a much better start for their married life. Is the Church right to refuse it to them? By refusing, it turns them away from their religion, which could be their strength and stay when difficulties arise. Surely the Church itself should show mercy and permit re-marriage.'
>
> It was said that it was necessary for the Church to have a strict rule to maintain the sanctity of marriage. He would have thought the sanctity of marriage could have been best maintained by allowing re-marriage in church only to an innocent party and in order to ascertain innocence the Church could have done no other or better than follow the law of the land.

Lord Justice Denning's utterance carries great weight, not only because he is a Lord Justice of Appeal since 1948, but also because he was Chairman of the Committee on Procedure in Matrimonial Causes, 1946-47.

Another public utterance — this time by a clergyman, the Rev. W. J. S. Weir, Rector of Kirton, Ipswich—who had been described in the press as 'defying the church authorities' by the marriage in his Parish Church of an innocent party, defends himself as follows in the *Daily Telegraph* correspondence columns.

> Sir—Kindly allow me to make clear that, in marrying divorced persons I do not 'defy' anyone or anything, but am simply operating the law of our Church and State. True, the bishops have requested the clergy to refrain from operating the law, but such a request has no kind of validity.
>
> I am of the small minority of clergy who have refused to accede to a request which we deem (to say the least) unconstitutional, disingenuous in respect of its underlying purpose, disloyal to our Church's tradition in the matter, and contrary to the spirit of Christ.
>
> The young woman whose marriage I solemnised, as you have reported, was a deserted wife who had divorced her former husband. It should be realised that the majority of our bishops would not only deny her Christian marriage, but also, if they had the power, any kind of marriage.
>
> Their pretension is that, unless a marriage has been annulled by themselves (they propose legislation according themselves power of annulment), its parties are inexorably bound to one another, and that marriage after 'secular divorce' is adulterous. Such doctrine is, of course, Romanist.
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> W. J. S. Weir.

Modern Movements and Missions—Buchmanism

In the the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Christian vitality exhibited itself in the creation of fissiparous sects and schisms, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Christian vitality exhibits itself in the creation of movements and missions. In the former age the Christian temper was fissiparous, manifesting itself in splits: 'Come out from among them and touch not the unclean thing.' In the latter period the Christian spirit is ecumenical — the Catholic spirit under a new name. Hence the creation of highly organized sects has yielded place to movements which operate through groups, fellowships, conferences which do not demand separation as a preliminary essential but seek to express and develop ideals which shall inspire the character and conduct of individuals in the normal relations of their every-day life. These groups are not concerned to create doctrinal formularies nor organize ecclesiastical sects.

The ideal of the modern Christian spirit is to create and develop influences; its propaganda is conducted mainly through the Press—possibly through the pictures, public conferences and literature whose purpose is revealed to those who come into contact with it, in many cases under an illusion. It is the conference and the cell not the Church and the chapel: it is the study circle and the camp, the social gathering and the guest house which

constitute its up-to-date propagandist method: its text is not 'Come out from among them' but 'I am become all things to all men if by any means I may save some.'

The evidence for this changed Christian temper is all around us and promises to-day to be more effective as a first stage in the conquest of fashionable frustration and materialistic pessimism in ultimately bringing back converted citizens to converted Christian Churches than is an enfeebled schismatic traditionalist Christianity. It is these non-schismatic religious movements which are the significant factors in our twentieth century. Starting under most unpromising conditions and in unexpected ways they have secured amazing success.

In this sphere, second only to Christian Science, comes Buchmanism or Moral Re-Armament, essentially Christian in its ideals of character and conduct, but essentially non-ecclesiastical and disconcertingly original in its methods. It is not surprising therefore that Watts & Co., the publishers of the Thinker's Library, should have published a sympathetic exposition of Buchmanism or Moral Re-Armament under the title *Inside Buchmanism*[1].

Like Christian Science, Buchmanism originated in the U.S.A. Unfortunately the founder of the movement, F. N. D. Buchman, created at the outset a strong prejudice against it in England by adopting as its title 'The Oxford Group.' This title has been wisely replaced by Moral Re-Armament.

Geoffrey Williamson, the author of *Inside Buchmanism*, thus records his first external contact with the movement.

> 'While snatching a brief holiday in Switzerland in July, 1949, I passed through Caux, where the founder of the movement, Dr. Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman, was presiding over a World Assembly . . . Mountain House, the headquarters, was packed with delegates from all over the world—diplomats, politicians, trades union officials, teachers and students. Fifty-two nations were already represented it was claimed, and hundreds of other delegates were expected . . . .
>
> Whatever it was, it had been powerful enough to move the United States House of Representatives to send a bi-partisan delegation to Caux by military plane. The Dutch Cabinet had sent its Minister for Social Affairs, Dr. Joeks; Japan had sent its first post-war Premier, Mr. Tetsu Katayama; the Speaker of the Ceylon Parliament, Sir F. Molamure, had been there; so had Dr. Max Huber, Hon. President of the International Red Cross and former President of the International Court, The Hague; so had Dr. Frederick Geissbuehler, Secretary of the Swiss Federal Assembly' (p. vii).
>
> 'It was fairly common knowledge that the members claimed to be "God-controlled"; that they were in the habit of "listening to God" each morning to gain "guidance" for their day's actions' (p. viii).

[1] *Inside Buchmanism*. By Geoffrey Williamson. (Watts & Co., 1954; 12/6.)

Subsequently the author attended as an *insider* a great Caux Conference. This opened with a message from Robert Schuman, Foreign Minister of France.

> 'In the economic field we have the Marshall Plan. In the field of security we have the Atlantic Pact. Now we need to give ideological content to the lives of the millions of Europe. We must reach the people so that the Pact will be sustained by a deep change in the way of life of the Western world, through a real spiritual renewal' (p. 36).

The moving impulse of the Conference was the conviction that only the power of Moral Re-Armament could cement international understanding. This is summed up in Buchman's *dictum* :

> 'Moral Re-Armament gives the full dimension of change. Economic change. Social change. National change. International change. All based on personal change. It creates a personal opinion adequate to remake the world' (p. 141).

Perhaps it is more precisely expressed by Buchman's Philadelphia Broadcast in 1936, America's election year.

> 'Have you ever thought where America's real safety lies? America's safety lies in God-control. God-controlled individuals, God-controlled homes, God-controlled schools, God-controlled industry, God-controlled politics, God-controlled nations. . . . God is the person that the American voter has got to reckon with in the coming elections. The real question is, "Will God control America . . ."'

Between 1934 and 1937, Buchman coined many of the slogans which his followers repeat to-day.

> 'When man listens, God speaks. When man obeys, God acts.' 'Everybody wants to see the other fellow changed. But everybody is waiting for the other fellow to begin.' 'The Oxford Group believes that the ordinary person can do the extraordinary thing if he is in touch with God.' 'God spoke to the prophets of old; He may speak to you. God speaks to those who listen. God acts through those who obey.' 'Why not a spiritual radiophone in every home?' (p. 205).
>
> 'So although it is true to say that Buchman has turned Religion and Moral Uplift into Big Business, I am prepared to accept that a lot of his antics are deliberate; that he is merely giving his appeals topical twists, and putting on the kind of "shows" which he knows will attract notice' (p. 218).
>
> 'I am satisfied that Buchman and his closest associates are deeply religious men, wholly dedicated to the titanic task they have set themselves' (p. 219).

Like the author of this book we are convinced that the essentials of Buchmanism are sound. Although its methods in certain cases may be open to objection.

But the prophets have the right to choose their own methods in order to achieve their missions. 'John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye say, he hath a devil. The Son of Man is come eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a

gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber' (*Lk.* vii, 33, 34) — a friend of financiers and film stars.

The following affirmation, signed by nine Scandinavian Bishops, including the Bishop of Stockholm, published in the *Times* of February 23, 1954, should carry weight.

> Sir—On the basis of what we have seen and experienced of Moral Rearmament, it is clear to us:
>
> (1) That this world-wide movement, springing from a centrally Christian experience, has led large numbers of people who had become estranged from the Church into a living personal Christianity;
>
> (2) that it is a morally and spiritually inspiring factor of the greatest significance in various countries, religious and cultural groups;
>
> (3) that in a world threatened by divisive forces and inner disintegration, Moral Rearmament's work—that of reintroducing firm moral standards and spiritual inspiration, and thereby of creating unity and new positive possibilities in personal, social, industrial, and political spheres—must be followed with gratitude and lively interest by all right-thinking people, and above by the Church.
>
> Division among the constructive moral and spiritual forces is more disastrous now than ever before, and can benefit only that materialistic way of life which in both West and East is undermining the foundations of all higher human life, impeding unity and a better future for our world.
>
> Yours, &c.,
>
> ALGOT ANDERBERG, Bishop of Visby; MANFRED BJÖRKQUIST, Bishop of Stockholm; JOHN CULLBERG, Bishop of Västerås; GUNNAR HULTGREN, Bishop of Härnösand; BENGT JONZON, Bishop of Luleå; ELIS MALMESTRÖM, Bishop of Växjö; YNGVE RUDBERG, Bishop of Skara; ARVID RUNESTAM, Bishop of Karlstad; TORSTEIN YSANDER, Bishop of Linköping.

This affirmation has been further confirmed by a volume on applied Buchmanism entitled *Remaking Men*, by Paul Campbell, M.D., and Peter Howard, which has just been published[2].

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

Another modern movement expounded in a recent volume, also published by Watts & Co., is *Jehovah's Witnesses*, by Royston Pike[3]. The writer of this editorial first came across Jehovah's Witnesses some twenty years ago when after preaching at an evening service in Robertson of Brighton's chapel, he wandered through the streets of 'London by the Sea' and encountered a mission hall crowded to the doors. On enquiry he was told that these were Jehovah's Witnesses and that they came from America.

> 'But who are these Jehovah's Witnesses who stand on the street corner selling *The Watchtower*, who hold forth in the local Kingdom Hall, who go to prison rather than do their National Service?'

[2] *Remaking Men.* (Blandford Press, 1954; 5/-.)

[3] *Jehovah's Witnesses.* By Royston Pike. (Watts & Co., 1954; 10/6.)

Their Founder was Charles Taze Russell, a member of the Congregational Church of Pittsburg, U.S.A., and the leader of a Y.M.C.A. study circle. He was a man of one Book, the Bible, and believed in its infallible verbal inspiration. From his Biblical studies he concluded that Jehovah was the God of the Bible and that it contained the record of those who had *witnessed* to the Truth which Jehovah had entrusted to them. Beginning with Abel this witness was consummated in Christ Jesus, 'the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God' (*Rev.* iii, 14). His Biblical studies alienated Pastor Russell from the churches whose creeds he found to be 'misleading and contradictory of God's Word.' Providentially, so he judged, Russell came into contact with a congregation of Adventists founded by William Miller, a millenarian eschatologist. From now onwards Adventism became the dominating influence in Russell's religion. In 1874 he published a pamphlet, *The Object and Manner of the Lord's Return*, in which he argued that the Advent was to be 'a spiritual, not a physical manifestation.'

This pamphlet had an enormous circulation and 'thus was started a work of preaching through the printed page which (so it is maintained) is quite without a rival' (p. 13). Five years later *The Watchtower* magazine was launched and since that date has appeared without a break as the official journal of Jehovah's Witnesses. Russell later issued six volumes of Scriptural studies which were translated into thirty languages and by the time of his death in 1916 had achieved a sale of fifteen million copies.

His successor was Judge Rutherford who coined the famous slogan: 'Millions now living will never die.' Although a believer in Eternal Life Rutherford was absolutely against the doctrine of Hell Fire. Judge Rutherford asserts in *The Harp of Gold* (p. 47):

> 'that the doctrine of eternal torment cannot be true ... for at least four separate and distinct reasons: (1) because it is unreasonable; (2) because it is repugnant to justice; (3) because it is contrary to the principle of love; and (4) because it is entirely unscriptural'.

We cannot deal further with the doctrines of Jehovah's Witnesses here. Ecclesiastically they are intensely opposed to the Papal Church and especially to its doctrine of purgatory which secures for that church immense financial support. Jehovah's Witnesses believe as little in the politicians as they do in ecclesiastics and do not, as some of us, view them as 'necessary evils' in this imperfect world. Disbelieving in Nationalist patriotism, Jehovah's Witnesses are pacifists and refuse to do any kind of 'National Service.' The penalties they suffer on account of this

they regard as Christian martyrdom. They are, however, sustained by the faith that the Kingdom of God will ultimately triumph over all the kingdoms of the world and that this triumph will be consummated by the battle of Armageddon. Blest will they be who survive that mundane crisis.

What, asks Mr. Royston Pike is the urge that lies behind the Witnesses' activity? He answers :

> 'I think that everyone must get the impression, the conviction, that these are people who are desperately in earnest. They have probably tried one or other of the Churches, and have been disappointed. They have been repelled by the formalism, or the snobbishness, or the insistence on petty details of belief and worship, or the sheer incomprehensibility of what it taught' (p. 134).

But this is not the whole story. Economic hardship, injustice, insecurity, poor wages, bad housing, unemployment, on the one hand and the amazing amount of selfish and vicious enjoyment on the other hand; gambling, drunkenness, sexual immorality, bad parentage, juvenile delinquency, motoring recklessness, etc. As the 'eager young Witness who was selling *The Watchtower* on the corner outside the railway station' said to Mr. Royston Pike :

> 'You must admit that things can't go on as they are ... You must admit that things are pretty bad now. The whole world is filled with selfishness. Sin and evil are everywhere. There *must* come an end to it some time, before long.'
>
> 'And then?'
>
> 'Why, then, we shall really know what being happy means!' (p. 136).

'The appeal of the Witnesses is not to the well-to-do and the well-educated, but to the frustrated, the hard-pressed the underprivileged.'

A very different class from that to which Buchmanism appeals, but both Jehovah's Witnesses and the Buchmanites look to spiritual and moral religion as the only effective and ultimate remedy.

American Revivalism

The April issue of Intelligence Digest[4], edited by Kenneth de Courcy, presents a many-sided and surprising picture of aspects of the religious awakening taking place in U.S.A. which the Editor asserts, 'within two years has entirely changed public affairs.' The facts may be summarised as follows :

> '1. Eighty per cent. of the adult population of America are now associated with a Church.

[4] Issued in London from 14 Old Queen Street, London, S.W.1, and published monthly.

2. Hollywood finds religious films are greater box office attractions than any other.

3. Religious books sold three times more copies in 1953 than all other books on all other subjects combined.

4. President Eisenhower has recently been baptised and is now a convinced churchman. He sets aside half a day every week for private devotion. He opens his Cabinet meetings with prayer and many Senators attend devotional breakfast meetings.

5. No less than 200 Hollywood leaders attend a weekly prayer meeting.

6. There is a sweeping reaction against secularism and materialism, manifested by the growing number of confessions of men like Lindberg, Rickenbracker and others.

7. Theological colleges and seminaries are booked up years ahead. One famous college has refused 20,000 applicants.'

The American religious revival is 'for the most part, associated with a Conservative theology and a traditional faith.' In England to-day it is characteristically presented by the distinguished American Missioner, Dr. Billy Graham, who is drawing vast audiences in the Metropolis. The *Intelligence Digest* thus describes him :

'He is not a hot gospeller—far from it. He is a modest—even humble—man. Young, matter of fact, a minister of religion, an athlete, easy going—indeed, the antithesis of the inflammatory hot gospellers . . . He preaches a simple, traditional Gospel, without emotion' (p. 5).

Although he represents in this country the American religious revival, and has 'the full and unqualified support of President Eisenhower,' he must not be regarded as a religious emissary sent by U.S.A. to convert England, since he was invited to come to this country by a 'thousand British Churches.'

The *Daily Mail* of May 24 comments as follows :

'Of the gigantic Wembley meeting on Saturday night with the Archbishop of Canterbury present, Mr. Graham said: "I stood there overwhelmed by it, deeply grateful and humble that I even had a small part in it".'

The *Oxford Mail* in its account of the subsequent visit of Dr. Graham to Oxford on Sunday, May 25, thus summarises his final appeal :

'He chose as his text the 23rd Psalm. He spoke simply of the fighting, killing, hatred, greed, racial prejudice and intolerance in the world to-day, and of the need for a spiritual renaissance, "if the whole of humanity was not to be destroyed by the use of modern weapons". . .

'"There will never be spiritual happiness and peace until there's contact with God".'

In view of the flood tide of religious revivalism in America it is not surprising that Evanston, U.S.A., has been selected this

year as the locality for the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches and that it main theme of discussion is to be 'Christ the Hope of the World.'

Protestant Gains and Papal Losses in U.S.A.

The *Times* of March 27, 1954, draws attention to the conclusions published in a recent issue of the *Christian Herald* (the most representative Protestant magazine in U.S.A.) that four million Roman Catholics in the United States were converted to Protestantism in the past ten years. The *Christian Herald's* conclusions were derived from the replies to a question paper sent to 25,000 of the 181,000 Protestant ministers in America.

> A projection of the figures supplied by the ministers produced 'the startling nation-wide figure of 4,144,366 Roman Catholic-to-Protestant converts'. The magazine added: 'With allowance for error, the total national figure could not be less than three million . . . and in all probability runs closer to five million'. It says also that the Roman Catholic Church had reported that 1,071,897 Protestants were converted to Catholicism in the same period.
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> The editor of the *Christian Herald*, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, who is head of World Christian Endeavour, an interdenominational Protest youth organization, said that the survey was undertaken because wide publicity about Catholic conversions of Protestants had led many persons to believe that inter-faith conversion was a one-way matter.
>
> The reasons for conversions to Protestantism advanced in the magazine article were 'intellectual differences with Roman Catholic dogma . . . the need for greater freedom of personal belief and interpretation . . . and the desire in mixed faith marriages of one spouse to change to the religion of the other'. With reference to the last-mentioned reason, the magazine said: 'Contrary to widespread public opinion, the report revealed that it is the Catholic rather than the Protestant who adopts the faith of his mate and is converted to Protestantism.'

Evangelism and Adult Religious Co-education

The *Modern Free Churchman* in its April issue comments critically on the Billy Graham mission as follows:

> 'Past experience leads us to have little faith in these highly organised, emotionally charged methods of evangelism. Our fear is that their outcome will drive thoughtful people—especially young members of the community such as university students—away from all religious life.
>
> 'Our faith is rooted in that quiet and continuous evangelism which finds its instruments in the thoughtful lecture and sermon, the printed article and pamphlet, the small and ably guided discussion and study circle. The method may be much less spectacular but in the long run it is likely to be more effective. It helps the seeker to wrestle with the deep things of faith and belief: "to think on these things".'

Dr. Lee, Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, a church which is both academic and parochial, addressing his Easter parish meeting voiced the need for Christian education for which sermons were inadequate. The *Church of England Newspaper* (April 15) reports him as saying:

> '"What was needed", said Dr. Lee, "was something like the original Sunday school . . . St. Mary's was an ideal centre to start a new 'School of Religion'. It was agreed to commence such a scheme soon after Easter with short courses of lectures, followed by questions and discussions on topics such as the nature and meaning of the Bible, the fundamentals of Christian belief, Christian worship, and the application of Christianity to everyday living.
>
> 'Another new venture planned is a series of visits as a congregation to non-Anglican churches in Oxford, and the issue of invitations to the churches visited to return the compliment by visiting St. Mary's for services there. If the idea is successful all the Free Churches would be visited and some Anglican churches as well".'

Evangelism by means of Christian co-education seems to us to be a promising field of adventure.

Christianity in Oxford University To-day

Many books have been written on life in the University of Oxford. The most readable of them all is *The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green* which is keeping its centenary to-day. Strange to relate it was written not by an Oxford man but by a graduate of Durham University and its original illustrations may be inspected in the Durham University Union.

Recently, Worcester College, Oxford, has produced two books on contemporary Oxford life as far apart in their style and point of view as it is possible to conceive—the first, *To Teach the Senators Wisdom*, by the Provost, J. C. Masterman; the second, *Oxford Triumphant*,[1] by Norman Longmate, a young graduate.

In a small volume, Mr. Longmate describes, in the brightest and lightest of styles but with an intense appreciation of essential values, the many-sided life of Oxonians in the fifties of this century. His accumulation of accurate *data* of every kind is amazing but his statistics are always illuminating and his judgements responsible. We are compelled, however, to note an important exception—his treatment of dons and their methods. Mr. Longmate ignores the value of the Oxford tutorial system which is *sui generis*—the unique achievement of the Oxford educational

[1] *Oxford Triumphant; A Documentary*. By Norman Longmate. (Phoenix House Ltd., 1954; 16s.)

method. In its tutorial essay system Oxford adheres to the good old practice of the pupil saying the lesson and the master hearing him.

But here we are concerned with only one contribution made in this sincere volume which deserves as much to be read by those who are not Oxonians as by those who are. It is Mr. Longmate's account of Religion in Oxford. He recognizes that there is no indication that Oxford is less religious than it used to be although compulsory attendance at daily chapel has been largely abandoned.

Even before the First World War an Oxford satirist wrote :

> 'And day by day the morning chapel bell
> Calls men to Heaven and makes them mutter "Hell!"
> And e'en the question troubles pious heads
> Why saints may not rejoice them in their beds.'

Mr. Longmate cites the following testimony :

> 'One college chaplain who has kept records of every service over the last sixteen years was reported in the *Isis* of November 7, 1949, as saying that on *every* Sunday in the two years 1947 to 1949 there were more communicants than on *any* Sunday in the years 1937 to 1939—a significant fact, even though partly accounted for by an increase in the size of the college' (p. 100).
>
> 'Probably the majority of undergraduates regularly attend some place of worship—I should estimate the number at two in three of the men and perhaps one in three of the women—but it is impossible to obtain accurate figures since the larger proportion of these attend churches in the city which draw on the non-academic population of Oxford for their main support. The author of the *Isis* article already quoted declared that on any ordinary Sunday in term-time five churches alone—St. Ebbe's, St. Aldate's, Christ Church, Pusey House, and the Roman Catholic Chaplaincy—contained well over 1,000 undergraduates, with at least 350 others scattered in the Nonconformist Chapels. If to this figure is added the large number who attend college chapels or the other churches in Oxford, the total is even more impressive' (p. 101).

Mr. Longmate also notes the important part played by the University Church in Oxford :

> 'This attracts a congregation of as many as 800 undergraduates on Sunday evenings, of whom 100 or more will meet afterwards for discussion on some religious topic' (p. 103).
>
> 'All observers agree that whatever the defects of its organization interest in religious matters in Oxford has increased enormously since before the war' (p. 105).

Not a little depends upon the influence of the chaplains in the colleges and it is significant that the women's colleges have no chaplains.

Mr. Longmate concludes his account with two significant *dicta*. The first from Francis Bacon:

> 'It were better to have no opinion of God at all than such an opinion as is unworthy of Him. For the one is unbelief, but the other is contumely.'
>
> 'Oxford in the 1950's is seeking in its spiritual dilemma not for experiment but for experience, not for sensation but for certainty' (p. 112).

Perhaps it is not certainty but *certitude* that Oxford seeks.

Anglican Ordinands and Comparative Religion

This year the Faculty of Theology in the University of Manchester keeps the Jubilee of its foundation. The Faculty included a Chair of Comparative Religion and prescribed that every candidate for a degree in Theology should take a course in Comparative Religion.

Professor Brandon's article which we publish in this issue presents sound reasons for his plea that every Anglican ordinand ought also to prossess such a knowledge of Comparative Religion as a preliminary to Ordination. This article demands the serious attention and practical response of our bishops and C.A.C.T.M. officials appointed by them.

At least a decade ago at a conference in Oxford of the Modern Churchmen's Union, a diocesan bishop presiding, we pleaded that the study of Comparative Religion should be prescribed as a necessary subject for ordinands. The Bishop replied: that the Scriptural, Theological, Liturgical and Historical studies prescribed by the General Ordination Examination (G.O.E.) absolutely forbad the inclusion of this additional subject. Our plea was based on personal experience: when a science student in a colonial university we had encountered bishops who opposed the study of Illingworth's *Personality, Human and Divine* (Bampton Lectures 1894) because Illingworth accepted evolution as the method of the divine creation of man. This prejudiced science students against Ordination. Later on, when in Oxford, we found Greats tutors were prescribing Frazer's *Golden Bough* for the study of their pupils. This created an agnostic attitude equally prejudicial to Ordination as it was not supplemented by Christian Apologetic.

When later, as Principal of a theological college in which lectures on the evolution of religion formed part of the curriculum, we found they were welcomed as helpful and enlightening. When, however, the G.O.E. prescribed by C.A.C.T.M. for Ordinands

did not include Comparative Religion, the lectures had to be abandoned on the ground that such knowledge was not needed for Ordination.

It is high time that this restrictive policy be abandoned and a special place created for Comparative Religion in the curriculum of Ordinands. We therefore hope that Prof. Brandon's plea will not be made in vain. Professor Brandon's plea receives powerful support from Friedrich Heiler, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Marburg, in his article entitled, 'How can Christian and non-Christian Religions co-operate?' published in the *Hibbert Journal* of January, 1954. Heiler, originally a Roman Catholic priest who placed many of us in his debt by his admirable Treatise on Prayer, protests strongly in his *Hibbert Journal* article against the present day tendency to narrow up our concept of the Christian Religion by the exclusion of our study of other great expressions of the Spirit of Religion. He writes:

> 'Even to-day we should hardly gather from the text-books of Protestant Dogmatics that there are other religions besides Christianity. Where any notice is taken of them at all, it usually takes the form of disdain and a complete refusal to recognize in them the operation of divine revelation. The most that will be conceded is an honest seeking after God. Escape is often sought from this unwelcome encounter under the plea that it is impossible to penetrate into the world of alien religious thought and we must therefore confine ourselves to that of Christianity . . . But however firmly Christian theology may ignore the existence of other religions, the comparative study of religion has established a number of definite discoveries which are now part of the common heritage of the humane sciences.
>
> 'How much more about God's revelation in the pagan world Christian Theology knew in past ages than it does to-day! But the facts of this study of other religions are too strong to be suppressed or ignored for ever. "Schleiermacher will return", prophesied one of the leading exponents of the Dialectical Theology. Yes, and not only Schleiermacher, but Nicholas of Cusa, too, and many another whose name is hardly mentioned to-day, and the early Christian *Logos* Christology will live again, the liberating doctrine of the *Logos* as the true light, which lightens every man' (*John* i, 9).

MAU MAUS AND CHRISTIANS

A Personal Experience

IT was in the early days of the Emergency in Kenya. At the farther end of Fort Hall District in the Kikuyu Reserve all was quiet, outwardly. The Kikuyu all wore that look which we got to know so well, part sullen, part frightened, part bestial. They never spoke to us unless we spoke to them, never volunteered even a '*Jambo*' or a '*Nikuega*.' They tried not to look at us if they could help it, but hurried past with their eyes averted. If you stopped one and questioned him you always got the same answers.

> 'No, there has never been any Mau Mau here.' 'Yes, I have heard tell of it elsewhere, but never around here. The young men? They are all working in Nairobi. There have not been any around here for a long time.'

Always the same, and so palpably false. We had a lot to learn in those days.

The District Officer and the Major of the King's African Rifles stood on the earth road gazing up at the hillside still swathed in the early morning mists. Above them on the banana and maize covered hillside could be caught glimpses of moving figures dodging in and out of the bomas and plantations, turning out the huts, combing the cultivated plots, searching, poking, hunting for the elusive young men. For this was a dawn sweep of an area where Mau Mau had been reported to be active. There had been rumours of an oath taking ceremony in the neighbourhood and the body of an unidentified African had been pulled out of the river some way downstream.

Slowly the various groups of figures converged on the two men on the road, and with the dispersal of the mist could be identified as *Askari* of the K.A.R., blue jerseyed Kenya Police and a few Tribal Police in their maroon jerseys and pillbox hats. Some of the parties had civilians with them, young men whom they had caught in their huts at dawn and which they were bringing in for screening. The prisoners were made to squat down on the road in line and the D.O. took a good look at them. They were an unprepossessing lot. Two of them were older men, pulled in by the *Askari* in an excess of zeal, who were allowed to go home at once. The remaining nine sat by the verge looking sullen, angry and, yes, almost drugged. All except one, that is. He looked very different. He looked the D.O. in the eye and, incredibly in that company, seemed almost to smile. His eyes

were bright and cheerful, and they lacked in startling fashion the doped look of the others. As the officers looked at him he caught their eye, and the District Officer spoke to him. The prisoner stood up and came forward. He turned and faced the other prisoners. 'The man you found in the river the other day, Bwana,' he said, 'was So-and-so, son of Such-and-such. He was killed for refusing to take the Mau Mau oath, and that is the man who killed him. The man next to him is the oath administrator who ordered him to be killed. You will find the Mau Mau arch, where the ceremony took place, at the end of the valley over there.' So he went on down the line until he had stated who were involved in the murder and who were innocent. It was astounding. There had never been information like this before. The Police leapt into action. Finger-prints? arch? trophies? Yes, everything was found to be as he had stated. He gave evidence as he had spoken and three murderers were convicted.

I saw him as he was about to leave the camp when the trial was over, and advised him not to go back to his hut, as it would be too dangerous for him. The Mau Mau would be bound to get him. He looked me straight in the eye. 'I am a Christian, Bwana, and Mau Mau is against Christ. So I must go back and help to fight them.' I stared. 'But they'll kill you once you leave the protection of the boma.' 'Yes,' he replied 'I know that they will kill me soon. But I shall die for God. Good-bye Bwana.' And with that he walked out of the boma, totally unafraid, into a country where ninety per cent. of the people had sworn to kill him.

They got him about a week later.

He was the first Christian loyalist whom I had met. They were a superb crowd. I have never been so impressed with any men in my life. There was the African Pastor of a neighbouring mission, who used to pass on to us news of forthcoming oath taking ceremonies. He was found one morning slashed to pieces outside his hut. There was the former sweeper from a mission, whose hut I used to visit barefoot in the small hours, lest the marks of my boots should be seen in the earth next day, who told us what was going on amongst the Mau Mau. It was from him that we first heard that the young men were undergoing a form of jungle training in the forests. These are tales which could be repeated by the hundred, and the one thing which all these men had in common was that they were loyalists because they were Christians. In my first post in Fort Hall district we found seven such informers. Six of them were dead within the next four months. The seventh? I daren't even ask. There is another tale

which can be repeated many times too. An army patrol was crossing a river. They noticed something which looked like an old sack caught in some rocks. It was a body, an African. Another Christian had been murdered for his faith. This story has been repeated all too often, and is still being repeated even to-day.

When the Kikuyu Home Guard was first formed—it was started in Fort Hall—a candidate for enrolment had to be able to convince the District Commissioner that he had not only never taken the oath, but that he had actively resisted Mau Mau. Out of a population of about three hundred thousand in the district only fifty such could be found. But few though they were, they were the finest men imaginable. Utterly fearless, unfailingy cheerful and fanatically loyal, they were the nucleus of the thirty thousand strong Home Guard of to-day. It is not without significance that the first fifty were all Christians and quite outspoken about it too. In those days it was to court certain death, probably by torture, to admit that one was a Christian, and the courage of these men thus to label themselves surpasses description. They formed a hard core of resistance around which the loyalists could rally, and by their example they fanned the flickering flames of resistance into the blaze which it is to-day.

This courage was not only displayed by Africans. Out in the loneliest places in the Reserve were to be found Missions of one denomination or another, and the white missionaries displayed a similar calm fearlessness in remaining at their posts. I well remember a bad day in upper Fort Hall. A headman and two of his tribal police had been murdered the day before and that morning another body had been picked out of a stream. For once we had got the names of the murderers and all the soldiers and police of the district were out on a huge round-up, with orders to bring in all the young men they could find. Right in the middle of the operations, with the hunt going on all round, I found a C.M.S. Mission. The missioner and his young wife were quietly going about their business as though nothing out of the ordinary was happening. Although they knew that it was merely a matter of time before somebody tried to assassinate them, they had their four-month old baby with them, and they had no intention of leaving. There was their duty and there they would remain. They had not even bothered to put protective wire over their windows, and they slept at night completely unguarded. Their calmness in the surrounding turmoil was balm in that place. Then there was the Roman Catholic priest in Kiambu district, who daily walked along footpaths through thick wattle and banana plantations in the worst of the troubled areas, unescorted, and alone. There was the

Baptist missionary who was reported to have come upon a large Mau Mau meeting near his mission. Single handed, and armed only with a whip, he cooled with his flagellant Christianity the atavistic fervour of the Satanic congregation and dispersed them.

The only force, religious, educational, social or political, which held out against Mau Mau was the force of the Faith in Christ. For while it is far from true to say that every baptised Christian was a loyalist—Jomo Kenyatta was baptised—yet it is a fact that every early loyalist among the Kikuyu was a Christian. And not only can the Faith hold the stalwart few, it can also reclaim. At the famous Athi River Camp and in camps along the Rift Valley are the Resistance Movement centres, where the hard case Mau Mau are subjected to attempts to cleanse them. It is a hard job. Anyone who has tried it will tell you that the hardest thing in the world to do is to make a Mau Mau talk when he doesn't want to do so. Bribery, threats, wheedling, physical violence, terror, they have all been tried at one time or another, and they have all failed dismally. Skilled interrogators, with a wide experience of questioning prisoners during the war, say that they have not met anything to equal the fear of the oath for closing a man's mouth. There is a simple way of making them talk, however, and once they have given one thing away they have broken the oath. Then, like a rubber balloon, once the oath of secrecy has been punctured the whole oath is invalidated and out pours the confession in a cascade. The terrorist will answer any question and will tell all he knows. He is then passed on to the witch doctor to 'cleanse,' a revolting ceremony, but one necessary to the Kikuyu way of thought to eradicate Mau Mau from his system. When this is completed the man will usually confess to feeling 'empty'; he has no outlet for his emotional cravings. He is lost, he has no purpose in life, he knows not which way to turn, and like the man in the parable, he is fertile soil for the seven other devils worse than himself. The African pastor gives him the answer: 'God will replace all wickedness,' and he then reads to him the words of the Bible, telling him of the code of love which can replace that code of hatred and vileness, which is Mau Mau. The staff of the camps report that they have seen tears streaming down the faces of former hard-bitten Mau Mau on these occasions; men who went to the camp full of hate and stayed to listen to the Bible readings; and who now hear about God with a new understanding and comfort.

The amazing thing about this rehabilitation is not that it fails in some cases, but that it works in so many. It is a fact that many who went in fanatical Mau Mau leave as equally fanatical

Christians. The parable of the sower is, of course, just as applicable to the Kikuyu as it is to anybody else, and there are many backsliders. But there are many who are not; men for whom there was no other way of return to sanity and decency. And this is the only way of reformation which has been found for them up to date. Victory over Mau Mau, the true Mau Mau which lies in the spirit, will be a victory for the Church, and the Church alone. It will be victory over a devilish sect who are sworn to eradicate the knowledge and worship of Christ.

I returned to this country some months ago and I was horrified at the line which the Church in this country is following. There, in Kenya to-day, the Church is undergoing a persecution greater even than in communist Russia, its members are showing a superb courage unequalled elsewhere in the modern world. What is more, the Church militant is slowly winning the battle. Yet all I hear about it from the pulpits of this country are vague statements that we need more Christianity in Kenya, and sermons condoning Mau Mau because of some assumed wickedness on the part of the Europeans out there. I have seen more practical Christianity in Kenya from men of all colours in one day than I see in a month in England. Two cases of maltreatment of the African are denounced from half the pulpits of Britain, and are falsely held up as typical of the behaviour of the European. Here I see half empty Churches, whereas in Kenya one has to reach the Church half an hour before the service if one wants a seat, and there is no colour bar. Surely it would be better to draw attention to the good in that sorely-tried land rather than to seek to publish the evil. There, the Church of God is fighting for its existence, and the Church in very truth the Church Militant is winning.

FRANK BOUVERIE

DECANUS DECANO

Address given by the Very Rev. W. R. Matthews, Dean of St. Paul's, at the Memorial Service for Dr. W. R. Inge

THE body of William Ralph Inge, formerly Dean of St. Paul's, lies in the churchyard of the country parish, to which he retired in 1934, with those of his beloved wife and son. We can understand that he wished this to be, though we may feel some regret that his tomb is not in this Cathedral with those of John Donne and Milman.

Dr. Inge was Dean of St. Paul's for a long and difficult period of its history. His term of office included the First World War which threatened the Cathedral with destruction. He was Dean during the long and difficult work of preservation, which no doubt enabled the fabric to stand up against the blast of bombs in the Second World War. He was partly responsible for the drawing up of new Statutes for the Cathedral which are now in force. During his time as Dean notable events took place which affected the future of St. Paul's.

To-day, however, we do not think primarily of Dr. Inge as an administrator and ecclesiastic; we remember him as a man who played a distinguished part in the intellectual and religious life of his day. Whether we knew him personally or only through his writings, we dwell now on the reasons which cause us to remember him with admiration, gratitude and affection.

When Dr. Inge became Dean of St. Paul's he was already famous as a scholar and writer. *Christian Mysticism*, which some still consider as one of the most important of his works, had made his name familiar far beyond academic circles and had opened to many readers a new way of approach to the spiritual life. Its influence is not exhausted to-day. In those days the tradition that deans might be expected to be learned still prevailed, and men looked for notable contributions from Dr. Inge to the literature of religion. They were not disappointed. At once he took his place with those eminent Deans of St. Paul's who have been illustrious in the scholarship and literature of our country and the English Church — with Colet, Tillotson, Joseph Butler, Mansel, Milman and Church. I have often thought that a considerable library might be collected consisting solely of the works of Deans of St. Paul's, and certainly none of them would surpass Dr. Inge in the volume of his production, the range of his interests or the penetration of his thought. Posterity will form its own opinion of the value of his writings — and I believe it will be a high one —

we at least can say with confidence that he was among the most considerable and stimulating authors of his time. His study of Plotinus remains and will always remain unsurpassed. Classical scholar, theologian, philosopher, historian of mysticism, essayist, he won distinction in many fields and he touched nothing which he did not adorn by the acuteness of his mind and his admirable prose style.

Most of those present to-day remember very well how great was his influence on the public mind in the years between the wars. He became a popular figure, his face as well-known as that of any prominent politician and his opinions more widely discussed. The quite unfounded nickname which was bestowed upon him — the Gloomy Dean — was at least evidence of public interest. I do not know whether he should be called a prophet; but he had at least one quality of the prophet — he never prophesied smooth things. He did not gain the public ear by repeating soothing platitudes or by offering superfluous support to popular causes. He was a severe critic of democracy; he thought the belief in inevitable progress a superstition. Nor did he spare the religious beliefs of his fellow-countrymen and fellow-churchmen. He called us to the painful task of examining our presuppositions. The reason why so many attended to what he said, even when they disagreed, was that they recognized the force of his intelligence and his candour. Here, they felt, was one who faced all the problems and spoke his mind on them without accommodation to expediency. I do not suppose that anyone, even among his most fervent admirers, agreed with all his views, and some who loved him had their moments of exasperation when he seemed unduly provocative, but he did us all the greatest service when he made us think out the presuppositions of our beliefs. Dr. Inge was a true philosopher — a lover of wisdom. His life was devoted to the search for truth and reality, to the great problems which concern us all — God and the human soul, the meaning of human life and human destiny. He did not claim that he had found the final answer to these eternal questions. He did not seek to found a school of thought or set up a party of disciples. His aim was to help others to find their own way in the perplexities of our age.

To those who did not know him he may have appeared an austere and aloof person wrapped in abstruse contemplation, but those who had the privilege of personal contact with him knew a different man. He had a delightful wit and deep affection for his family and his friends. He would take much trouble to help those who were in distress of mind and, as I have good reason to know, he was generous with encouragement to younger men who were

trying in their feebler way to follow the path of religious philosophy, which he trod so confidently.

William Ralph Inge was a great man, a unique man. We shall not look upon his like again. It is sad to know that we shall not hear his voice again commenting, in his individual and forceful fashion, on the topics of the day. It is sadder that we shall have no more penetrating discourses on the great themes of Freedom, Love and Truth, the three values and ideals which he always venerated and tried to serve. He is added to the roll of deans who have shed lustre on the office and to the roll of those who have added to the treasures of learning and wisdom in our English tongue. May he rest in peace and may the Eternal Light, for which he so earnestly sought, rest upon him — and in that light may he see light.

THE LEAPING SPARK*

By the Very Rev. W. R. Inge, D.D., K.C.V.O.

'PHILOSOPHY [the pathway to Reality] does not admit of verbal expression like other studies, but as a result of long converse with the subject and communion with it, it is brought to birth in the soul on a sudden, as a light that is kindled by a leaping spark, and then it nourishes itself.' That is Plato, in the wonderful Seventh Letter which reveals more of the soul of the man than he had been willing to make public in most of his Dialogues. Diotima had taught him (*Symposium* 210) that the revelation will be sudden, and the leaping spark has probably shone in his eyes. Four hundred years later another man had the same experience. It was the one man who might challenge Plato as the founder of what Leibniz and Aldous Huxley call the *philosophia perennis* in Europe. Saul of Tarsus, who was shortly to be known as Paul in Greek-speaking lands (*Saulios* would mean 'the Waddler,' an impossible name), was approaching Damascus in no friendly spirit to the Galilean movement, but probably in sore mental perplexity, when a blinding light smote upon him and there came, 'not to the sensual ear,' a voice of the exalted Christ, rebuking him by name and warning him in a quotation from Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 1607) not to kick against the pricks.

This was not the only occasion when St. Paul had visions and revelations. Quite clearly he had the mystical temperament. We do not forget that light is the most universal of all symbols; but

* This article by Dean Inge, accompanied by a brief letter in his own handwriting, reached us four days before his death. [Ed., *M.C.*]

when we read of these dazzling flashes of radiance in all parts of the world, at all dates, and in all religions, we may believe that there is some real connection between the phenomenon and the spiritual experience, without attempting to find the psychological or physiological explanation of it. To believe that the experience is what all mystics suppose it to be will not trouble those who treat religious experience with the respect to which it is entitled. It is one form of what Methodists used to call sudden conversion, which John Wesley thought normal, but which a leading Methodist whom I consulted did not find to be common.

William James, using a manuscript collection of instances collected by Starbuck, gives several examples, including some where no dazzling light was felt. Joseph James in his *The Way of Mysticism* (an anthology introduced and arranged by Joseph James; Jonathan Cape, 10/6) quotes from Heinrich Suso, St. Teresa several times, R. M. Bucke, Plotinus, Philo, Emily Brontë, and some less known names. In another part of the same book he quotes from St. Augustine, John Cassian (about 360 A.D.), Eckhart, Ruysbroeck, Henry Vaughan, John of the Cross, Ephraim the Syrian, Walter Hilton, and Nicolas of Cusa. Those who have ascended the hill of the Lord seem to see very much the same landscape from the top. In a great many cases the effect of the sudden illumination upon character has been permanent.

One of the worst slips in Harnack's great book is where he identifies mysticism with Catholic piety. Troeltsch is much nearer the mark when he says that religion has taken three forms, the Church type, the Sect type, and mysticism. The distinctive feature of the Catholic or Church type is the crushing weight of external authority, which imposes its obligation on the conscience and the spiritual illumination, making it possible for the believer to swallow any dogma which he is not allowed to chew. The Church has never been quite at ease with mysticism, which is an independent force owning no absolute observance to constituted authority. George Tyrrell once said that the time may come when there is nothing left of Christianity but mysticism and the law of love. It sounds a bold saying for a priest, until we remember who it was who said that on two commandments hang all the law and the prophets, the two commandments being the love of God and the love of man. The first and great commandment is the love of Him whom we have not seen, and this love is personal religion or mysticism. God is love, is a saying dear to the mystic, and there is freedom in it. Troeltsch says that mysticism is the religion of the educated class, and this is what it is. We need not here analyse the Sect type; it is enough to say positively that mysticism is not

Catholic piety. It is St. Paul's piety, a very different thing. To examine the experiences of those who have known the sudden flash of spiritual illumination will teach us more than we could learn from anything except a characteristic influx of the Holy Spirit of God.

A PLEA FOR THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGION

By Professor S. G. F. Brandon, M.A., D.D.
(Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester)

THIS year the Faculty of Theology in the University of Manchester keeps the jubilee of its foundation. Although now a well-established Faculty and fully integrated into the life of this great modern university, the project of its institution some fifty years ago caused much heart-searching among those who cherished that liberalist tradition which at Manchester had once contrasted with the religious tests of the older universities. It was undoubtedly as a safeguard of that tradition that, when the decision was taken to recognize Theology as an academic subject and to give instruction thereon, a Chair of Comparative Religion was then set up (to be the first in the country)[1] and the regulation made that every candidate for a degree in Theology must take a course in the comparative study of religion. To-day it is possible to smile at the suspicion which Theology could then excite in such a stronghold of liberalism as Manchester then was and at the precaution which was taken to ensure that the subject was not presented in an illiberal, still less a bigoted, fashion. However, to-day it is also possible to be thankful that such a measure of recognition was given to Comparative Religion, for, although the original reason thereof can now scarcely be considered pertinent, the present situation of human affairs demands of all intelligent people some insight into the great traditions of the religious experience of mankind.

[1]According to a recent note in *The Manchester Guardian* (Jan. 1st, 1954), J. G. Frazer, already the author of *The Golden Bough,* was the first to be offered the new Chair. After much hesitation Frazer turned it down on conscientious grounds, since most of his pupils would be theological students. T. W. Rhys Davids, the distinguished authority on Buddhism, accordingly became the first holder of the Chair.

The true nature and extent of this demand perhaps require more elucidation, since, although there is a widespread interest in Comparative Religion, too often that interest seems to be inspired by a vague dissatisfaction with Christianity as a philosophy of life and a hope that in some other religion, preferably an Oriental one, or in a synthesis of religions, a new and stimulating solution of life's problems may be found. The serious study of Comparative Religion is not, of course, undertaken to meet such a need; rather is it a discipline which has been born out of the modern scientific study of humanity, and its importance becomes progressively more urgent through the very achievements of science in ordering human society and controlling its natural environment.

It may truly be said that both modern scientific thought and practice tend increasingly to integrate mankind. We may note the evidence of this first in the field of historical studies. During the past century historical research has been progressively pushed further back into the past and wider into space, so that no human group from the very emergence of *homo sapiens* in any part of the world has been excepted as a fitting subject for investigation. And this truly catholic interest has also resulted in establishing an amazing series of cultural relationships at least from Neolithic times, so that the past of mankind is no longer seen as it was formerly, namely, as a series of isolated and often bizarre experiments at civilization in different parts of the world, except for the one divinely-guided tradition which came through the Hebrews until it was linked with the heritage of Greece and Rome in Christianity, which union in turn laid the foundations of European civilization. As an example of such cultural inter-relationships in the ancient Near East, we may just instance the evidence which has come from the French excavations of the city of Ugarit at Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast. On this site abundant proof has been found of the meeting together of the cultures of Phoenicia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Mycenae, and of the Hittites and the Hurrians—the immense importance of these discoveries for Biblical studies is evident in the works that have since been devoted to their interpretation.[2] Accordingly, it may be fairly said that the logic of modern historical research presupposes that the past of the whole of mankind is significant and that it must be carefully studied in all its parts; moreover, in the light of such research, it is now seen

[2] Cf. R. de Langhe, *Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs Rapports avec le Milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, 2 vols. (Gembloux—Paris, 1945); C. F. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra—Ugarit* (London, 1939). One might also instance here the light which has been thrown upon the origins of civilisation in India by the Indus Valley excavations

that, with a few exceptions due to geographical isolation, there has been much intercourse between the historic cultures, which in turn means that no culture can be regarded as unique in that it is alone the product of its own innate genius and unaffected by the influence of other cultures. We may perhaps take Professor Arnold Toynbee's great work, *A Study of History*, as a deservedly popular monument to this modern appreciation of the need to consider the past of the human race as an organic whole.

This integrative influence which modern historical study has exercised on the plane of intellectual conception has been paralleled by the practical achievement of science. There is no need to explain here how the revolution effected in the means of transport during this century has almost annihilated the age-long problem of distance and knit the peoples of the world more closely together in space. And together with that conquest of space, science has been steadily making the world more interdependent economically — it will suffice just to mention how the vital dependence of modern industry and commerce upon oil has made the West urgently concerned with the affairs of the Near and Middle East. Further, the world political situation, which also has been profoundly affected by the achievements of science, is one in which Eastern peoples, after a long period of subservience, are steadily assuming dominant roles — Mrs. Pandit, the representative of India, presides at the General Assembly of the United Nations, while Mao Tse-Tung has taken a place equal to Lenin or Stalin in the great world-force of Communism.

We have accordingly become world-conscious to-day, and we all realize only too well that events in Central Asia or in Indo-China can have the possibiity of affecting our own lives in the gravest ways. Consequently, the intelligent man and woman seek to understand the outlook and the problems of other peoples, especially those whose cultural traditions seem to differ vastly from their own, and they will instinctively note the inadequacy of any interpretation of mankind and its destiny which fails to take account of the whole of mankind in all its diversity of racial origin, geographical environment and cultural tradition.

In the light of this wider outlook, it must surely be acknowledged that the education of candidates for the Ministry of the Church is generally seriously deficient. Despite the broadening of the secular mind in this matter, the teaching of theology in most of our universities and theological colleges continues to be as narrowly based as it was a century ago. In effect, the history of mankind is still presented along the lines of that ancient *Heilsgeschichte* which the early Church took over from Judaism, namely.

the view that the only really significant manifestation of Divine Providence runs through the history of Israel, as set forth in the Old Testament, to the coming of the Saviour of mankind in the person of Jesus Christ. Such a view implies the obvious logic that God had not been really concerned with the spiritual well-being of the rest of the human race until the Birth of Jesus Christ, and, even after that, He seemed to leave their salvation to the energy and ability of the Church in evangelizing them. The impossibility of such a belief has, of course, long been recognized by most Christians. But somehow this recognition has never made an effective impact on the traditional theology, so that some adjustment might be made to account for the indisputable fact that never in any generation has half of the world's population accepted Christianity. Our theological students are brought up, as indeed are our congregations, still to sing hymns which are expressive of the narrow and unenlightened outlook of generations ago — and so they are encouraged to think of the non-Christian races as poor benighted heathen who 'bow down to wood and stone' and to contemplate the East as the heathen lands over which 'thick darkness broodeth yet.'

The point which it is sought to make here is not that ordination candidates (and ultimately the people whom they will instruct) should be taught that the other religions are equal in moral quality to Christianity and that, therefore, no effort should be made to present the Gospel to non-Christian peoples. What is desired is that those who are to be the official exponents of Christianity should realize that the whole of mankind down through the ages has been confronted with those same problems of human existence to which Christianity essays to offer an answer. And this means in turn that they are no longer led to beg the question of 'how odd of God to choose the Jews' by assuming that there is only one divinely-covenanted way of salvation, because originally Israel believed that it was uniquely the chosen of Yahweh. Instead they should approach with interest and sympathy the other great religious traditions as evidence of the interpretation of life which other men in other environments have reached as they have experienced the problems, the fears, and the aspirations which are common to humanity.

The witness of the religious experience of mankind cannot be appreciated until it is studied with scholarly care and with the imaginative insight which comes from a proper realization of our common humanity in both its nobility and its viciousness. Thus, to take a notable example, no teacher can fairly claim a hearing on the question of the moral state of man who is not acquainted

with the evidence for the evolution of ethical consciousness in Ancient Egypt. In the religious iconography of mankind there is surely, considering its antiquity, no more impressive scene than the Osirian Weighing of the Heart against the feather of *maat* (truth),[3] and yet how many young men, who are laboriously set to trace out the Hebrew conception of a God of Righteousness, know of the earlier ethical achievement of Egyptian religion? Or to take another closely related example: in Biblical studies much time is rightly given to the exposition of the *Book of Job*, so that the student might appreciate the tension that must exist in a theology which exalts the power and justice of God but teaches an inadequate doctrine of Man. Yet so often this attention is given to Hebrew experience, while the equally instructive testimony of Mesopotamian experience as embodied in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is completely neglected.[4] Again, how rarely does the teaching given to our theological students ever grapple properly with the problem constituted by the New Testament concepts of soul (*psyche*) and spirit (*pneuma*), drawing, as it should, upon the rich abundance of comparative material in the religions of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece?[5]

The examples which have just been cited have an obvious relevance for Biblical studies, since it is now accepted that Israel did not grow up insulated from the influence of other peoples, nor was Christianity born in a cultural vacuum: consequently, such comparative studies are essential to a proper understanding of Christianity and its Hebrew heritage. But there is another aspect of the issue which has to be faced. The comparative study of religion not only reveals patterns of thought and practice which are common to a large part of mankind, but it also shows some notable divergences. One of these divergences is so fundamental that no intelligent estimate of the human situation can afford to disregard it, if it expects its message to be given serious consideration. The matter concerned here is the radically different evaluation set upon individuality or individual consciousness in the thought of India, and which finds expression in the various forms of Hinduism and Buddhism. According to the Indian tradition, individual consciousness is the basic illusion from which stems all the suffering

[3] The best example is undoubtedly that in the *Papyrus of Ani* in the British Museum. Cf. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952; pp. 334-341).

[4] Cf. A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1949).

[5] It would be encouraging in this connection to know that R. B. Onion's great work *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge, 1951) was among recommended reading in our theological faculties and theological colleges.

and ill which afflict mankind, evils which are infinite according to the concomitant doctrines of recurrent rebirth (*samsara*) and *karma*.[6] This estimate of human nature and its destiny is diametrically opposed to that upon which the Christian doctrine of Man had been built and which has gone to form the foundation of the *Weltanschauung* of Western Society, namely, that the individual soul is the essential unit and the highest achievement in living is a richly endowed personality. Consequently, while the Western view of life is this-world-affirming and the *summum bonum* of Christianity always contemplates the distinctive existence of the individual soul, the aim of the Hindu or Buddhist is to break free from this particular illusion of individuality in realizing that all this phenomenal world is *maya* (illusion). The logic of this divergence is profound, and it must be faced by the one who claims to expound the true doctrine of the nature of Man and his destiny. This means, in other words, that the Christian teacher must reckon with the fact that since about the sixth century B.C. a large proportion of the human race in the East has come to interpret life in a fundamentally different way from that which has prevailed in the West — and this different interpretation, it must be noted, cannot be lightly explained away as due to 'heathen blindness or ignorance,' because it represents the considered judgment about life of men whose intellectual ability and moral earnestness have not been inferior to those of the sages of the West.[7]

A problem of this magnitude is certainly disturbing, and its investigation is obviously a matter for mature scholars and not young theological students. However, that fact does not lessen the need of acquainting those who are to be commissioned as official teachers of the Christian interpretation of life with the significance of the Hindu and Buddhist view in the context of mankind's quest for light and succour in the life of the spirit. Surely only the man who realizes the age-long persistence of the spiritual quest of the human race and who appreciates something of the variety of forms which it has assumed is fitted to apprehend to an effective degree the human situation in the twentieth century?

There is then, in view of these profoundly important issues, a very strong case for the inclusion of the comparative study of

[6] As a recent statement of these ideas by an Indian scholar who is well acquainted with Western thought see S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanisads* (London, 1953; pp. 52-104, 113-117).

[7] For an insight into both the profundity and the subtlety of Buddhist thought reference might be conveniently made to E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London, 1951).

religion in the curriculum of those training for the Ministry of the Church. But if recognition of this plea be obtained, it must in all fairness be admitted that Comparative Religion is intrinsically a difficult subject for the academc immaturity of the average ordination candidate, for it necessarily presupposes a working knowledge of the evolution of human culture and some insight into the basic problems of philosophy and psychology. At Manchester it is found that. whereas this background can be fairly assumed in the case of B.D. candidates, the students working for the B.A. (Theology) often find the going hard. The approach has to be essentially historical, since no comparison can obviously be attempted until the chief features of certain important religions are grasped. The general B.A. course is, accordingly, designed to acquaint the student with the more important aspects of Primitive Religion, of the main religious systems of the environment in which Hebrew religion and Christianity developed, and the essentials of Hinduism and Buddhism (Indian), while he also studies in greater detail, with the relevant texts in translation, some specific religion, usually Islam. A special course, providing for more comparative study, is available for those who are particularly interested in the subject and have shown aptitude in the earlier course.[8] For B.D. students there are further courses covering Egyptian religion, Zoroastrianism, Shinto and the Chinese cults and philosophies. Despite the amount of reading required in unfamiliar fields, most students seem to respond to the intrinsic interest of the subject, and one is encouraged to think that their general outlook is enlarged and their appreciation of mankind's spiritual pilgrimage enriched by these studies.

At Manchester the theological student thus unwittingly profits from a provision inspired originally by the liberalism of the nineteenth century. But such a provision, however inspired, does not obtain in other places, and the point of concern here is that Anglican theological students should make some acquaintance with Comparative Religion in view of its importance in the light of the foregoing considerations. The present writer is keenly conscious that his own theological studies prior to ordination did not inform him of the religious experience of mankind outside that which is incorporated in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and, so far as his knowledge goes, that situation still obtains for the majority of Anglican ordinands. An obvious solution would be to include some Comparative Religion in the General Ordination Examination

[8] In the Manchester syllabus the general course in Comparative Religion also includes a paper in either the Philosophy or Psychology of Religion.

requirements, but one can anticipate the certain retort that already the requirements are too heavy. Nevertheless, since the present intellectual atmosphere demands that wider outlook if the Christian message is to appear relevant to this age, it may be pleaded that even in the present G.O.E. requirements there is some relativity of importance among the subjects, and the present writer seems to remember that once for that examination he acquired a lot of interesting antiquarian information about the Prayer Book of Bishop Serapion which did not seem to be especially relevant to the world in which he found that he had to live and teach.

THE RELIGION OF THE CORSICAN

By H. D. A. Major, D.D., F.S.A.

J. M. Thompson in *Napoleon Bonaparte: His Rise and Fall*,[1] which must surely secure a high place among the innumerable studies of the Corsican, makes it clear that Napoleon Bonaparte's permanent claim to fame rests not on his brilliant military campaigns but on his conquest of the French Revolution.

Alexis de Tocqueville's *L'Ancien Régime et la Revolution* enables its student to realise how much there was in that *ancien régime* which stood in grievous need of reform and reconstruction in the interests of the social, economic, educational and religious welfare of the French people. An example of this need for reform is concentrated in the fact that the Archbishop of Paris in the *ancien régime* possessed some 30,000 serfs. The defective and dreadful methods of reform employed in the first decade of the Revolutionary period and the impressions they created on the best type of British intelligence are enshrined in Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* and in his *Letters on a Regicide Peace*. With the advent of Napoleon Bonaparte to power a new period of reformation and reconstruction was inaugurated in State and Church.

J. M. Thompson thus summarizes Napoleon's achievement:

> 'His greatest conquest was not Europe, but the French Revolution. His most lasting monument . . . the laws and institutions in which he adapted the ideas of 1789' (p. vi).

How little is this realized even by educated Englishmen. Some years before the First World War the writer of this article

[1] *Napoleon Bonaparte: His Rise and Fall.* By J. M. Thompson, F.B.A. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 1952. 35/-.)

asked a German Rhodes scholar in Oxford who had been a law-student in two German universities: 'What is the basis of your German law, Roman or Teutonic?' He replied: '*The Code Napoleon.*'

It is to Napoleon's religion and his relation to the Church to which we are restricted in this article. Again it comes as a great surprise to many Englishmen to learn what a large part religion played in Napoleon's life and polity.

Was then Napoleon a religious man? Before that question can be answered the part that religion played in his activities, interests and administration must be recognized. He was brought up a loyal Roman Catholic in an island which possessed only one religion — Roman Catholicism. It was a strong and simple Papal Catholicism neither demoralized by the Jesuit casuistry satirized by Pascal, nor discredited by the Encyclopaedic scepticism derived from English Deism. It was obedient to the discipline of the local priesthood, while loyal to the demands of the insular *vendetta.*

However, in the case of the young Napoleon a breach was made in his religious outlook by his early reading of Rousseau's *Confessions.* There was nothing remarkable in his perusal of this immensely popular book. What was remarkable was the reaction created in the youthful mind of its reader. This impression is preserved in a defence of Rousseau which Napoleon wrote 'on May 9th, 1786, at 4 p.m.,' thus summarised by J. M. Thompson:

> 'The argument goes throughout upon the Catholic assumption that the Roman Church *is* Christianity in being. Only when he is inveighing against the wealth and warlikeness of the church does Napoleon catch a glimpse of the Sermon on the Mount; and lets it go again. To him Christianity is an international society working against the national interests of the state; diverting the citizen from his duty in this world to his preparation for a world to come; corrupting his loyalty to the nation in the name of fidelity to the faith; putting the directions of the priest above the commands of the magistrate; in short, undermining the whole authority of government "The Church's empire is not of this world; the churchman is never a citizen." "Wherever the priesthood is an international body it is the master of the government. Its decisions override those of all other embodiments of the state. By its rule over the conscience it makes the law. Its every act is that of a tyrant".'
>
> The way out of this *impasse* by the subordination of the church to the state was not yet apparent to the young controversialist: it had to be learnt from experience of Jacobinism in Paris, of Mohammedanism at Cairo and of Papalism in Italy. Yet the hot contentions of the boy of sixteen forecast the cool convictions of the man of thirty-three: and one can already see in this manuscript the rough draft of a *Concordat'* (p. 11 f.).

The young Napoleon's character was definitely formed during his five and a half years at the academy of Brienne, followed by

one year at the *Ecole militaire* at Paris. Of the latter J. M. Thompson writes:

> 'Religion, as might be expected in a Bourbon foundation, was the background of everything. There were three chapel services a day, beginning with mass at six in the morning; catechism on Sundays, confession on Saturdays, and Communion six times a year' (p. 9).

This severely disciplined religious life seems in Napoleon's case to have fitted in well with the military training of his environment and created in him no mood of rebellious frustration. All through his life, whatever may have been the conflicting religious and moral professions and practices to which he united it, Napoleon observed the obligations of catholic membership and worship. He erected a private chapel in the Imperial residence at Fontainbleau and on his deathbed he received extreme Unction.

His allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church never blinded him to what he conceived to be his duty to the welfare of France. His opportunity to realize his supreme religious ideals for France came to him with the collapse of the *Directoire* in 1799 when he became First Consul for ten years, and was enabled to achieve the *Concordat* with the Pope.

The historian Gibbon summarizes the threefold attitude towards religion which characterized the pre-revolutionary period in France — the scepticism of the philosophers, the credulity of the populace, the practical use of religion made by the rulers of the State.

Napoleon now found himself in the third class and faced by tremendous difficulties. Voltaire's slogan, *Ecrasez l'infâme*, expressed the Terrorist revolutionary attitude towards the Church both in temper and policy — detestation and extermination.

The Terror ended with the French Church in ruins. Amidst those ruins rose various schismatic substitutes, some absurd and all futile, attempting to satisfy the religious needs of the nation. Neither Theophilanthropists nor Huguenots, neither 'Constitutionalists' nor 'Refactories' were selected by Napoleon as factors in his religious experiment.

Chateaubriand's *Le génie du Christianisme* had not yet been published, but when it was published in 1802 it found a ready response from Napoleon whose point of view it reflected. France must have a unifying religion which could secure the support of the vast majority of the French people. There was only one religion which could do that in France — the Roman Catholic Church. But the defect of the Roman Catholic Church from the point of view of Napoleon's policy was its Papalism. He desired

for his policy a Catholicism without the Pope — a Catholicism dominantly French, in which the Catholic would be the ideal *citoyen* and the *citoyen* the ideal catholic. The Pope and the Curia and Rome were hindrances. Of course they could not be abolished. Napoleon was no fanatical Protestant, but the less the Church of France had to do with them and they with it the better. The authority of the French State must come first within its own borders. It must be 'over all estates ecclesiastical as well as civil supreme'—and here 'was the rub'— the Papacy was in its ideal policy equally absolutist. Hence the need for a *concordat*. The diplomatic skill needed to achieve it demanded a Machievelli, but Napoleon with Talleyrand as his agent was *capable de tout*. J. M. Thompson writes of the *Concordat*:

> 'The negotiations so begun lasted a whole year, and it was not till midnight on July 15th, 1801, the anniversary of the armistice of Marengo, that the text of the Concordat was finally signed. The length and complexity of the negotiations can be judged from the 1,279 pieces contained in Boulay de la Meurthe's *Documents sur la negociation du Concordat* . . . "A business arrangement (as a royalist writer called it) between Christians and philosophers, made in the name of a government that was neither philosophic nor Christian." The issue was fought out over no less than ten successive drafts before the final text was agreed upon . . . The most crucial issue was the clause expressing the relation between the secular and spiritual controls. In the final draft it ran thus: "The Catholic religion shall be freely practised in France. The government removes all obstacles that might oppose it. Its worship shall be public, so long as it conforms to such police regulations as are required by public peace." . . . Bishops to be nominated by the First Consul and instituted by the Pope. . . .
>
> The 17 Articles of the Concordat represented the essentials of a working agreement between the Republic and the Papacy. The 77 Organic Articles stood for Bonaparte's resolve to close every possible door between the French bishops and the Pope, and in every practicable way to subordinate the church to the state. The new Gallicanism would leave no loopholes for Ultramontanism' (p. 173 f.).

Pius VII declared in a letter to the English Prince Regent in 1817, when Napoleon was languishing as a prisoner in St. Helena, that 'The *Concordat* was the saving act of a Christian and a hero.' This hardly accords with J. M. Thompson's verdict based on a factual record of Napoleon's religious policy.

> 'It was only too obvious that at every turn religion was being subordinated to political ends. The object was to produce loyal soldiers and servants, not good catholics' (p. 256).

This is the key to the understanding of Napoleon's religion as a statesman. As King Edward VII once remarked to an English Bishop: 'The religion of sovereigns must be dependent on the

religion of their subjects'; and Napoleon would have added: 'And the religion of their subjects has one supreme aim, the welfare of the State.'

What Napoleon's personal religious convictions were is not so easy to determine. His personal and public religious practices were those of Roman Catholicism. There was one great exception here — marriage. On a series of occasions Napoleon demanded divorces and re-marriages which conflicted with papal discipline as well as with Christian ideals of marriage. It seems doubtful at times whether his personal religious faith included more than two articles. First, a Deistic Monotheism which enabled him to regard the Allah of Islam as the equivalent of *le bon Dieu* of the Christian Religion. This comes out in his Egyptian campaign when he strove to persuade the Mohammedan authorities to regard his French troops as their co-religionists. When however the Islamic authorities insisted that in order to achieve this the French soldiers must be circumcised and cease to drink wine, Napoleon abandoned his ideal of religious reunion. Secondly, supreme reverence for Jesus Christ. This is claimed as Napoleon's profound conviction by Liddon in his Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of Jesus Christ delivered in 1866.

In the concluding paragraph of his arresting volume J. M. Thompson thus summarizes the *non-religious* side of Napoleon's character:

> 'It was Foch who, a hundred years after Napoleon's death, wrote his truest epitaph, and best summed up the causes of his rise and of his fall: *"He forgot that a man cannot be God; that above the individual is the nation, and above mankind the moral law: he forgot that war is not the highest aim, for peace is above war".*'

Yet it may be justly claimed that Napoleon was a religious man but his religion was not the Christian Religion. Napoleon may be correctly classified as a Catholic, but here we do well to remember Dean Inge's retort to one who claimed that Catholicism was as old as Christianity: to which the Dean replied: 'Yes, and a great deal older.'

Napoleon's Catholicism was not Roman Catholic. It was not 'the Ghost of the Roman Empire sitting crowned on the grave thereof.' In Napoleon's view Rome was the *bête noir* of Catholicism and if Rome could not be eliminated nor entirely suppressed, it must in the interests of France, be subordinated to Gallican Catholicism.

Napoleon's religion had much in common with Mohammedanism which Renan defined as 'petrified Judaism.'

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

A Centenary Retrospect

By W. H. C. Frend, D.Phil., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

ON December 8, 1854, Pope Pius IX pronounced in St. Peter's the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* before a great audience of nearly two hundred cardinals, archbishops and bishops[1]. It was not only that the centuries-old dispute between the Dominicans and Franciscans on the subject of the Feast of the Conception had been decided in favour of the latter, but a step of immense importance had been taken towards defining the claims to personal infallibility which were now being made on behalf of the Pope. A turning-point in the history of the Christian Church had been reached. The Orders of the Day and the salvos of Austrian and Neapolitan artillery which greeted the Papal pronouncement indicated to an incredulous world that something more serious than an argument between Scholastics had been settled.

There were two issues which impressed themselves immediately on contemporaries. The first was the language of the decree and the manner in which it had been proclaimed. This seemed to arrogate to the reigning Pontiff the power to speak 'by the revelation of God' without the spiritual advice of a Council[2]. Secondly, as Archbishop Sibour of Paris had pointed out to the Pope, there had been no pressing urgency to define this particular doctrine[3]. What, therefore, was the background of the Pope's action, which revived in their extreme form the spiritual, and by implication, the temporal claims of the early Mediaeval Papacy?

It was true that the problem of the nature and degree of sinlessness possessed by the Virgin had exercised heresiologists and theologians from the fourth century onwards. In the early Middle

[1] Text, C. Mirbt. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstums,* Tübingen, 1924, 596, p. 447. Literature, X. Le Bachelet, 'Immaculée Conception,' in *Dict. Theol. Cath.,* vii, 845-1218 (an exhaustive and fair-minded survey), R. Aubert, 'Le Pontificat de Pie IX'—Vol. 21 in *Histoire de l'Église,* ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, 1952, Ch. IX, F. Nielsen, *History of the Papacy in the XIXth Century* (trad. Mason), London, 1906, ii, 188–198.

[2] Note the statement attributed to Mgr. Talbot a few days before the proclamation. 'You will see that the most important thing is not the new dogma itself, but the way in which it is being proclaimed.' J. Friedrich, *Ignaz v. Doellinger,* Munich, 1899–1901, iii, 146, citing a letter from Knoodt to Doellinger, Nov. 1854.

[3] Letter in reply to Pope Pius' Encyclical of February 2, 1849, 'Numquam Ecclesia doctrinae punctum quodlibet ex frigido, ut ita dicam, nulla fervente controversia, nulla urgente necessitate, et sola definiendi voluptate sancivit. Unde vero haec definiendi voluptas?' Cited from Nielsen, *op. cit.*, 192.

Ages both Bernard of Clairvaux[4] and Thomas Aquinas[5] had urged that it was to the greater glory of the Virgin that she should not have been exempt from Original Sin. St. Bernard, in particular, emphasized that the Feast of the Conception was a 'novelty, unacceptable to reason, and not approved by the ancient tradition of the Church.' But popular piety supported the Feast, and this feeling had found its champions in the Franciscans. In 1483 Pope Sixtus IV, himself a Franciscan, reproved those who declared that believers in the Immaculate Conception were in mortal sin or were heretics[6]. However, he did not attempt to pronounce on the doctrine, and this lead was followed by the Council of Trent. In the seventeenth century the attempt by the Jesuits to invoke archaeology by the exploitation of the Tablets of Granada ended in a fiasco. These tablets on which the Apostle James was said to have borne witness to the Immaculate Conception were exposed as fakes, and in 1682 were put on the Index[7]. For a century and a half the Immaculate Conception remained a 'pious opinion.'

The doctrine was not one concerning which fresh evidence would easily come to light. The Scriptural testimony was thin and the Catholic tradition derived from times nearest the event was either silent or unfavourable. Prudence, allied to care for the unity of Christ's Church, might have counselled Pius IX to continue the caution of his predecessors. But in the 1830's and 1840's the demand for the definition of the Immaculate Conception as a doctrine of the Church had become one of the main points in the programme of the French and German Ultramontanes[8]. As Europe neared the crisis of 1848 their movement gathered strength as the vanguard of counter-revolution and anti-liberalism. Pius IX had been inclined at first to make some concessions to liberal feeling in the Papal States, but on the failure of his 'liberal experiment' in 1847 he accepted the Ultramontanes and the Jesuits as the two unwavering allies of the temporal and spiritual authority of the Papacy. Thereafter, his nuncios furthered the aims

[4] *Ep.* 174.2, *ad Canonicos Lugdunenses* (*Patrologia Latina CLXXXII*, 302) 'Unde miramur satis quid visum fuerit hoc tempore quibusdam vestrum voluisse mutare colorem optimum, novam inducendo celebritatem quam ritus Ecclesiae nescit, non probat ratio, non commendat antiqua traditio.'

[5] *Summa Theologica*, iii, xxvii, 1, 2.

[6] See B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, iii, No. 160. At Trent fear of causing a Catholic schism prevented any attempt at definition.

[7] F. Nielsen, *op. cit.* 189–190.

[8] J. B. Bury, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, Macmillan, 1930, 47–48.

of the Ultramontanes against the traditionalist and ecclesiastical outlook of the hierarchy and the Catholic Faculties of Theology in Europe[9]. The Jesuits urged the definition as a weapon against 'semi-rationalism' as well as the most efficacious means of asserting traditional doctrines such as the Fall and the Redemption and the Divine nature of Christ[10]. The desire to overthrow Liberalism was never far from the minds of those who pressed for the definition of the dogma.

On June 1, 1848, Pius IX appointed a commission of twenty theologians to consider the doctrinal aspects of the definition and on December 6 another commission under Cardinal Lambruschini was established to enquire whether or not a definition was opportune at that moment. Not surprisingly both commissions ran into difficulties. It became clear for instance, that the definition could not be justified by an appeal to Scripture and tradition alone. There were three main proof-texts, *Genesis* iii, 15, *Luke* i, 28, and i, 42, together with an assortment of verses from the prophets and apocryphal material which could be cited as secondary evidence[11]. But *Genesis* iii, 15, even when interpreted in the allegorical sense as foreshadowing the Incarnation, and not as Babylonian folklore, did not indicate explicitly that the Virgin was free from Original Sin, nor could this meaning be wrung from the Salutations in *Luke* i, 28, and 42. When it came to the Fathers the Commission found themselves equally in difficulties. The clearest statement of the Virgin's miraculous childhood is to be found in the Gnostic Proto-evangelium of James[12]. It was evident from Epiphanius that these stories were the stock-in-trade of Gnosticising heretics such as the Collyridiani, and Epiphanius himself had asserted in reply to these sectaries that Mary was born after ordinary laws through the union of Anna and a righteous man named Joachim[13]. Influential Catholic bishops such as Mgr. Sibour urged that according to the principles of theology, 'the doctrine was not subject to definition and that the attempt would

[9] Particularly Mgr. Fornari at Paris. See Aubert, *op. cit.*, 270–277.

[10] P. Calvetti, 'Convenances sociales de la Definition,' *Civiltà cattolica*, Rome, 1851, Series 1, Tome viii, p. 377.

[11] *E.g.* Ezekiel, 44.2 (part of the prophet's description of the Temple) the *Proto-evangelium of James* and spurious writings attributed Ambrose and Augustine.

[12] Ed. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, 38–47. The *Acts of Andrew* to which Perrone also appealed were also Gnostic and had been used by the Manichaeans in the West.

[13] Epiphanius, *Panarion* (ed. Holl, iii, 480) LXXIX, 5. See also LXXVIII, 18, where he discusses *Gen.* iii, 15 and concludes that its meaning was an αἴνιγμα.

not be opportune.'[14] Cardinal Lambruschini reported that the view of his commission was '*dilata, et ad mentem.*'[15] The time was not ripe for so momentous a step.

There were, however, others who were beginning to see beyond the immediate problem of the definition to that of the Pope's own infallibility. In 1847 Giovanni Perrone, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Jesuit *Collegium Romanum* had published a dissertation in which he set out to prove that neither the Bible nor tradition was necessary for the definition of a dogma[16]. It was sufficient to suppose a tradition residing among the faithful, and maturing until the heavenly appointed moment for its open definition as dogma. Who other than the Pope was empowered to declare this tradition? We are already on the way to Pius' alleged '*la Tradizione son' Io*' at the Vatican Council of 1870[17], and it was to Perrone rather than to the Catholic Faculties of Theology that he now listened.

In May, 1852, another commission of which Perrone was a member was appointed to study the problem whether a truth not affirmed by Scripture could be defined. The Commission concluded that 'the existence of a Catholic tradition was proved when from one age or another a certain number of clear witnesses could be produced.'[18]

The stage was now set for the final act. There was to be no Council, though bishops from each country were invited to attend the ceremony. The Pope was to pronounce the dogma himself. Doubters who clung to Conciliar themes had been told on November 20, 1854, that 'if the sovereign Pontiff alone pronounced the definition to which all the faithful would adhere spontaneously, his judgment would provide a practical demonstration of the sovereign authority of the Church in matters of doctrine, and of the infallibility with which Jesus Christ had invested his Vicar on earth.'[19] Accordingly, the pronouncement which the Pope made a fortnight later on December 8, 1854, the day of the Feast of the Conception, contained no reference to the assembled

[14] Letter to Pope Pius of July 26, 1850. Published in *Parèri dell' episcopato cattolico sulla definizione dogmatica dell' Immaculato Consepmento*, Rome, 1851–1854, iii, 310.

[15] X. Le Bachelet, *art. cit.*, 1197.

[16] G. Perrone, *De Immaculato B.V. Mariae conceptu an dogmatico decreto definiri possit*, edition published at Milan, 1852, ii, chap. 1. See Nielsen, *op. cit.* 191.

[17] On this famous outburst, Aubert, *op. cit.* 354, gives references.

[18] Nielsen, *op. cit.*, 192. *Cf.* E. Preuss, *Die römische Lehre von der unbefleckten Empfangtiss, Berlin*, 1865, 134.

[19] J. B. Bury, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, 50.

bishops. These had come to hear, not to deliberate, nor to advise. The affirmation that 'by a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, in consideration of the merits of Jesus Christ, Saviour of the human race, the very blessed Virgin Mary has been from the first instant of her conception preserved from the taint of Original Sin, is a doctrine revealed by God,'[20] was made on the authority of the Pope. In the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* he placed his authority alongside that of 'Our Lord Jesus Christ' and 'of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.'[21]

Contemporaries were quick to point out that this pronouncement marked a fundamental departure in the history of the Church. No longer were Scripture and tradition sovereign in matters of faith. Both must yield to the infallibile utterance of the reigning Pope. From the Jesuits, Clemens Schrader, after describing how the Pope had defined the dogma independently without the co-operation of a Council, said 'Pius IX by his action on December 8, 1854, did not indeed theoretically define but practically claimed infallibility for the Pope.'[22] For the opponents, Doellinger pointed out to the Bonn conference in 1874 that 'the aim of the dogmatic definition of this doctrine by the Pope was to prepare the way for papal infallibility itself.'[23] Indeed, the way was now clear for the remainder of the Jesuit and Ultramontane programme. In a celebrated article in the Jesuit *Civiltà cattolica* of February 6, 1869, a contributor who was probably the editor wrote that,

> 'the Vatican Council would confirm the Syllabus of Errors, carry the definition of Infallibility by acclamation, and declare the dogma of the Virgin's bodily Assumption into heaven.'[24]

Thus anti-liberalism, Papal infallibility, and the exaltation of the Virgin all formed part of a single policy. This policy left Christians no choice between an acceptance of an absolute theocracy and the final and permanent rejection of the claims of the Roman see.

[20] C. Mirbt, *op. cit.*, p. 447; H. Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, 1943, 379.

[21] *Ibid.*, 'Auctoritate Domini nostri Jesus Christi, beatorum apostolorum. Petri et Pauli, ac nostra . . .'

[22] Clemens Schrader, *Pius IX als Papst und als König, Vienna*, 1865, iii, 12.

[23] H. Reusch, *Bericht über die Unions-Konferenzen*, 38f. X. Le Bachelet, *art. cit.*, 1211.

[24] *Civiltà cattolica*, Ser. vii, Vol. V, 351 f. See Janus, *The Pope and the Council* (Eng. tr. 1870), 1ff.

In this country there was an immediate reaction against the new dogma. In a sermon at Oxford Bishop Wilberforce made the forthright statement that

> 'the doctrine had heretical tendencies to say the least.'[25]

Pusey, with his shrewd insight into the practical consequences of the Pope's action wrote,

> 'It is one more obstacle put in the way of Christian reunion, a new subject of discord between the Greek and the Roman Churches, an irreducible point of divergence between the ancient Church and the modern Roman Church.'[26]

How far, in the light of Christian experience over the last century, can these views be justified?

It might be asked first, why the Pope should have chosen a 'pious opinion' about the Virgin on which to base his fight against rationalism. There were many other questions of doctrine, particularly those connected with the rôle of the Holy Spirit, which had remained undecided since the period of the Church's great creative effort marked by the Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. These questions, however, might have involved discussion with Orthodox clergy as between equals, and this Rome was not prepared to do. More important, they lacked the appeal among Roman Catholic laity which doctrines concerning the Virgin exercised. The Ultramontane programme could never have won acceptance had it been merely the expression of the ideas of a celibate priesthood. It has, in fact, been most successful at the parochial level among lay folk. The strength of the Roman Church to-day invites an alternative line of inquiry.

We have already referred to the way in which the Jesuits had associated the Divinity of Christ with the new dogma. In the last resort the progressive elevation of the Virgin springs from a monophysite Christology, which in turn can be traced back to the earliest Gnostic heresies with which the Church had to deal. The Chalcedonian Definition, that Christ existed in two natures, perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, was a formula arrived at after three quarters of a century of wrangling between Constantinople and Alexandria. The ordinary Christian, however, then as to-day, tended to stray one side or the other of this delicate balance, and to overemphasise either the Godhead or the humanity of Our Lord. With the ever-growing distance that divides us from the earthly ministry of Jesus these tendencies have increased. Among Roman Catholics the trend has been to

[25] S. Wilberforce, *Rome, her new Dogma,* 17.
[26] E. B. Pusey, *The Church of England, an Eirenikon,* Oxford, 1865, 121.

push His human nature and mission into the background and to elevate instead His divinity. This outlook is well illustrated by a recent letter to the *Times* from a prominent Roman Catholic layman, on November 9, 1949. 'Many converts to Rome are less influenced by the Petrine texts than by the fidelity of the Church to the basic dogma of Christianity, the Godhead of our Lord.'[27]

The dangers of this attitude are well known to the student of the history of the early Church. It was, after all, the Patripassian Noëtus who complained against those who accused him of heresy, 'Why, what harm am I doing in exalting the glory of Christ?'[28] But Christian opinion was more lenient to Noëtus, Sabellius, and their school than it was to their Adoptionist opponents. While Paul of Samosata has gone down in history as a heresiarch, the 'homo-ousios' of Sabellius' disciples and of popular Christianity in the third century became embodied in the creed that emerged from the first Council at Nicaea. Yet, as the Antiochene theologians saw, the Christ as a wholly Divine Being could never share in their entirety the suffering and experiences of humanity. How could, for instance, the Devil have tempted the Divine Logos successfully, and how could the Divine Logos increase in wisdom and stature, in the words of *Luke* ii, 52? If the divine and human natures could not be blended gradually through a growing unity of will derived from progressive moral excellence, as Paul of Samosata taught, then the unity of the two natures, of God and man in a single individual, must ever elude human comprehension[29]. It was, however, the divine nature present in the elements of the Eucharist, that promised to the believer his hope of immortality and victory over Fate and the malevolent planetary gods, who were believed to rule his life on earth. The 'high' Christology is characteristic of popular sentiment in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

The birth, death and resurrection of God could not, however, be an entirely satisfying example of redemption for the human soul. Some human mediator and redeemer must be postulated[30].

[27] Letter of Sir Arnold Lunn, available with other letters published under the general title of *Catholicism To-day*, p. 21.

[28] Hippolytus, (ed. Lagarde) *Contra Noetum* 1, and *Refutatio*, ix, 7.

[29] See C. E. Raven, *Apollinarianism, Cambridge* 1924, 52.

[30] See an interesting, though not, of course, in any way authoritative statement by Mr. Graham Greene in *Life* on November 20, 1950, regarding the definition of the Assumption dogma. 'The resurrection of Christ can be regarded as the resurrection of God, but the resurrection of Mary foreshadows the resurrection of each one of us.' *Cf.*, however, J. Duhr, S.J., *The Glorious Assumption*, Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1951, 67.

In Theodoret of Cyrrhus' (died 457) *Dialogue*, 'Orthodoxus' asks his monophysite opponent outright, 'Who, when he hears of the resurrection of a God would believe that the resurrection of all men will happen in the same way as this?'[31] It is at this point that those doctrines which have elevated the Virgin to a unique position which has been described as 'a complement of the Holy Trinity, Bride of God, and Co-redemptress of the World,' fall into place[32]. To pray to the Virgin as well as to the Holy Trinity 'to convert the wicked' and 'to protect the Holy Church' in the words of the special prayer for the Marian Year and to dedicate churches to her as 'the Mother of Counsel'[33] is quite logical in this theology. Excessive veneration for the *Theotokos* has always tended to be associated with monophysite beliefs from the time of Eutyches to our own time[34].

We now know something of the origins of these doctrines which was not known in 1854. During the last fifty years a series of great literary and archaeological discoveries have helped to fill in the background to the popular monophysitism in Egypt in which the cult of the Virgin flourished, and whence it spread westwards to barbarian Europe in the early Middle Ages[35]. The finding of the Coptic Manichaean Psalms and some of the works of Mani himself at Medinet Madi in 1931[36], and of no less than forty-eight Gnostic books at Nag Hammadi in 1946[37] enable the historian of dogma to follow step by step the influence exercised by the Egyptian Gnostics of the third and fourth centuries on their Orthodox and Monophysite successors in the age of Cyril and Dioscoros. One can read how the *Discourse* of the Monophysite Patriarch Theodosius follows the Gnostic *Homily of Evodius* in telling the story of the Assumption of the Virgin and her victory over the powers of Amenti[38]. One learns from the

[31] Theodoret, *Eranistes* 3, PG. LXXXIII, col. 260 C, *cf.* H. Chadwick, 'Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. Vol. II, Pt. 2, 1951, 145-164.

[32] The words used by the Arch-bishop of Trani when replying to Pope Pius' Encyclical of February 2, 1849, *Parèri*, 1–10.

[33] Clare Priory, re-established in 1953.

[34] *Cf.* H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 164. In Eutyches' view the Virgin was ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν but Christ was not.

[35] I have given further references in art. 'The Gnostic Origins of the Assumption Legend' *The Modern Churchman*, XLIII, 1, 1953, pp. 23–8.

[36] Part of the text has been edited and published in English by C. R. C. Arberry, *A Coptic-Manichaean Psalm-book*, Stuttgart, 1938.

[37] The best commentary so far published on this discovery is by H. C. Puech, 'Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques decouverts en Haute-Egypte,' *Coptic Studies in Honour of W. E. Crum*, Byzantine Institute, Boston, 1950, 91–154.

[38] Ed. M. R. James, *op. cit.*, 194 ff.

Pistis Sophia how the One-natured and Docetic Christ bestowed His wisdom on His female companions, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, Salome and Joanna, and one can see also that the Coptic Manichaean psalms end on a note of exultation for the 'victory of the soul of Mary.' Surely there is point in recognising that there is more evidence for the origins of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the Apocryphal and Manichaean gospels than in orthodox tradition, for these interpreted the ideas of those who believed that the act of generation was the principle means of transmitting sin, and so of perpetuating the existing world. Dogma may sometimes win its triumphs over history, but the slow and patient work of scholars also has its reward. No Tridentine doctrine of development can bridge the gap between Church and Gnosis.

The dangers to Christianity from the doctrines celebrated in the Marian Year are not merely academic and theoretical. Once the Christian religion ceases to look for its inspiration in the historical Jesus and the Scripture and tradition concerning Him it loses touch with human experience. Thereafter, it must rely on drama and myth through which to maintain its hold on the devotion of believers. The fate of the Gnostics and Manichees whose systems disdained historical reality are not encouraging examples for the permanence of such a religion. It is dangerous to put faith above history in a historical religion. One myth can be replaced by another. It is perhaps not an accident that those countries where neither Reformation nor Liberalism prevailed, such as Spain, Italy and Hungary, should be the scene of the bitterest conflicts between the rival ideologies of Roman Catholicism and Communism.

There was another consequence which Pusey foresaw would result from the definition. The effect on Rome's relations with the other Christian communities has been one of the most tragic features in the century which is now being commemorated. Faced with the progressive dechristianization of the urban populations in Europe, and the increasing influence of Marxism and scientific agnosticism, it might have been possible for Rome, even after 1870, to adopt a 'minimal' definition of Papal Infallibility, and to have sought the co-operation of other Christian communities, Moreover, the remarkable recovery of the Orthodox Church from 1860 onwards in the new independent Balkan States and the tremendous surge of Anglican missionary enterprise bore witness that the Spirit was dwelling in these Churches also. There have been some hopeful signs, but it has become more than ever clear that even on those topics, such as Toleration, where progress

towards mutual understanding appeared to have been made, there are still seemingly insurmountable divergences of view. To the Roman Catholic theologian, religious toleration where not condemned outright as fostering indifferentism[39]—a very wide term—continues to be regarded as an expedient, an aspect of the doctrine of the Lesser Evil, and may be abrogated when circumstances permit. The Concordat with Spain in 1953 is an example of this doctrine in practice[40]. To most non-Roman Catholics on the other hand, religious toleration marks the outward recognition of the equality and distinctive value of the individual human mind before God, and is, therefore, one of the most fundamental of human rights.

Thus, the opportunities for co-operation have not been taken up, and in general, the policy of the Roman Church has been one of marked unfriendliness towards other Christian communities. Towards the Anglican Communion this has shown itself in acts of arrogance and lack of scruple[41], but towards the Orthodox Church, hostility has been more serious, and has included an attempt to stamp out Orthodoxy by force in Croatia in 1941-1942. Why, we may ask, in the most difficult period for Christianity in its history, since the second century A.D., should Rome have chosen this course? On the immediate practical plane, one answer may be that at least until 1918 Rome felt herself strong enough to ignore the views of the non-Roman world. Opposition to the definition of the Immaculate Conception within her ranks had gradually been silenced by the visions of Lourdes in 1858. The great mass of the peasant populations in the Hapsburg Empire, in the Latin West and in Ireland were loyal, and so long as a position of strength was maintained in Germany she could afford to watch Higher Critics, liberals and modernists beat at her gates in vain.

But behind these practical considerations lay great theoretical

[39] *E.g.* in the Bull, *Mirari Vos* of 1832. Gregory XVI gave indifferentism a wide context, and based his attack on Bible Societies and the Evangelical Alliance in the Encyclical *Inter Praecipuas* on May 8, 1844, on the grounds that they were promoting it. See also, Rev. Victor White, O.P., *The Listener*, July 30, and August 13, 1953.

[40] Art. i proclaims the Catholic religion ' as the sole religion of the Spanish nation ' without qualification. A later article, however, indicates that the contracting parties do not intend to upset the *status quo* in Spanish Morocco where there is, of course, a vast Moslem majority. See two important articles in the *Tablet* of November 2, 1953, and January 9, 1954, where the Roman Catholic attitude towards toleration is discussed.

[41] Enumerated in *Infallible Fallacies*, S.P.C.K., 1953, and *The Modern Churchman*, xliv, 1954, 5. *Cf.* Paul Blanchard, *Freedom and Catholic Power*, 1951, passim.

claims, which the successive definitions of the Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus of Errors, and the Papal Infallibility brought into relief. In laying claim to personal infallibility the Pope was also making an implicit claim to the ultimate rulership of the world. As the *Civiltà Cattolica* wrote shortly after the Vatican decree of 1870, 'After the Council the Bull *Unam Sanctam* will acquire its full force. . . . The secular power must be subject to the spiritual.'[42] In August, 1873, in a letter to Kaiser Wilhelm I, the Pope claimed ultimate jurisdiction over all baptized persons[43]. The acceptance of the final consequences of the claim to infallibility in matters of faith and morals has also been associated with the view that, as vitality in the Church can only come from one source, Rome, Orthodoxy and Protestantism are inevitably doomed[44]. These ideas preclude effective co-operation between Rome and the rest of Christendom. The authoritative view of the Roman hierarchy in Great Britain was stated in November, 1949, by Mgr. Beck, Bishop of Brentwood, when he reminded those who hoped for a meeting of minds on the eve of the Holy Year, that when a Roman Catholic prayed 'Thy Kingdom come,' he was praying for the conversion of all men to Catholicism. Anglican clergy were to be regarded as laymen[45].

What prospect does the second century of the Immaculate Conception hold? From a doctrinal point of view, we must face the reality that Roman Catholicism appears to be evolving towards a new form of religion in which only the façade is linked with our traditional faith. The lone figure of the *Immacolata* on her lofty column in the Piazza di Spagna and the Pope's infallible power of pronouncement are in danger of distorting the historic beliefs held by all Christendom before the council of Trent.[46] On the other hand, the renewed interest in Biblical and Patristic questions shown by Roman Catholic scholars in the Western world is an exceedingly welcome development. No one who

[42] Cited from J. B. Bury, *op. cit.*, 139. The Bull *Unam Sanctam* 1302 ends with the words, 'Porro subesse Romano pontifici omni creaturae humanae declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronuntiamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis.'

[43] C. Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 470, No. 611.

[44] This point was made most recently by Rev. J. Christie, S.J., in his reply to *Infallible Fallacies* and applied to the Anglican Communion.

[45] Letter to the *Times* of November 15, 1949.

[46] An interesting sidelight on the association of these two ideas is given by Nielsen, *op. cit.*, 293. When Mgr. Ségur returned from Lourdes in 1870 he wrote to Mgr. Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, 'Pius has said to Mary, "Thou art immaculate," Mary will surely answer him, "Thou art infallible".'

attended the international Patristic conference at Oxford in September, 1951, could escape the feeling that somehow or other we were all members of one Christian brotherhood.

When one comes to consider the practical relations between Rome and the rest of the world the prospects are no more encouraging. Humanly speaking, we cannot expect a reversal of the hardening of doctrine and practice through which Rome has sought to exclude from herself the influences of the past century. The definitions of the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption may in retrospect be seen almost as panic decisions, the reaction of the Roman Catholic Church to the revolutions of 1848 and the advance of Communism. But they remain on record as the 'revelation of God.' So too, lesser 'infallibilities' must be regarded as permanent. The encyclicals of the present century which have been aimed specifically against liberalism in thought and comprehension in practice, *Pascendi Gregis*, *Mortalium Animos*, and *In Rebus Fidei*[47] can hardly be renounced, though they might conceivably be modified. Moreover, the substitution of a middle-class minority in the Western world for the peasant populations of Central and Western Europe as the main social basis for Roman Catholicism may lead to even more emphatic assertions of Jesuit and Ultramontane views. The chief conflict of our age is not yet that between Roman Catholicism and Communism, but it could well become so, with disastrous results for the human race. The writer has witnessed[48] the despair felt in many politically active minds at the apparent lack of an alternative to allegiance to one or the other rival authoritarian creeds represented by the Vatican and Marx.

The situation may be regarded as tragic but not entirely hopeless. Side by side with *official* Roman intransigeances there has grown up in our generation a movement for understanding among people of all religions, tolerant of each other, though insisting on respect for each other's differences. Roman Catholics are not strangers to this sentiment, and the persecution which Rome is now suffering may eventually induce a deeper understanding of other Christians. How far this spirit will ultimately prevail may be decided in the course of the next century. In the meantime, the responsibilities before the Anglican Communion are enormous, and so are its opportunities. World-wide in extent, blending liberalism with tradition, not rejecting the new truths established

[47] This was the ban imposed by Benedict XV in 1920 on Roman Catholic membership of the Y.M.C.A. Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 527, No. 666.

[48] When a Political Officer in Austria in 1945-1946.

by each generation of scholars, it stands supremely qualified to give to mankind the inspiration it needs—a faith which does not entail domination of man over man, and in which the Great Commandment may become a reality. Here, with others, the Anglican Communion has its contribution to make. The past century has shown that the way chosen by Keble and Pusey rather than that of Newman and Manning was the right one. The Church of England was to develop into the Anglican Communion, not lapse into an Anglican rite obedient to Rome. The next century may lead to the continuance of this development into the wider freedom of the Oecumenical Movement.

ENGLAND EIGHT CENTURIES AGO (1154)

By Canon Earle, M.A., B.D., Prebendary of Ulleskelfe in York Minster

THE choir screen at York Minster, a notable production of the closing Middle Ages, is the work of William Hindley, who was brought from Norwich in 1472 to act as master mason at York. He remained there until his death in 1505 when he 'willed' his mason's tools to the use of Saint Peter to whom the Minster is dedicated. Through all these years his wage, by the Minster Fabric Roll, would be about 6d a day and the working day would be from sunrise to sunset. There were no holidays as they are arranged to-day because the whole plan of time life was cast in a religious framework. Nevertheless workmen did not fare badly for holidays for every Saint's Day was a holiday and also the eve before it, that is from noon on the previous day. Every feast day also was a holiday, Sunday being one. The vigil before it, that is from Saturday noon, might possibly be included, the day sometimes being called Saint Sunday. Perhaps in a year, in addition to Sundays, there might be as many as forty other days when no work was done. Holidays, but not always with pay. In the Middle Ages there was little money and there were few possessions owned outside the circle of those whom we might term 'the Great.' It is remarkable how little people leave in their wills even up to the time of Elizabeth I, mainly clothing, beds and bedding, pots, pans, and spoons.

The choir screen at York contains large figures of the Kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry VI. All stand arrayed in their regal robes, holding sceptres and swords, save one, King Stephen. Stephen stands holding his sword, but no

sceptre. His face is of fiery aspect. His clothing is plain doublet and hose, there are no royal robes for him. Why is this? Is it the same, I wonder, wherever the statue of Stephen may appear?

Shakespeare in *Othello* (1604) makes Iago say:

> 'King Stephen was a worthy peer
> His breeches cost him but a crown
> He held them sixpence all too dear
> With that he called the tailor lown.'

W. M. Thackeray in his novel *The Newcomes* refers to the same peculiarity, for in describing Colonel Newcome's hired house when on furlough in England he says, 'the spare room was endowed with splendour, but his own was otherwise. The Colonel shaved in a little cracked mirror, which cost him no more than King Stephen's breeches.'

Stephen, in fact, whose reign is regarded as from 1135 to 1154, was never really accepted as King of England until the last year of his reign. All the previous years he was an upstart usurper contesting for the Crown with Matilda, the daughter of his uncle, Henry I, and his own cousin to whom he had sworn fealty and to her heirs. The Nobles and Bishops with their powers took whichever side seemed to serve their own ends. Each party was served by hordes of mercenary soldiers hired from abroad, mostly Flemings who had sold their swords and flocked to England keen for plunder. But evil as contestant war was, where towns were plundered and districts laid waste with every circumstance of murder and rapacity, sparing neither age nor sex, an even greater evil arose, since no law held good nor was order maintained. Strongholds were built without licence and by the score from which bandit lairs issued ruthless marauders to plunder and murder over wide districts. In these strongholds, the 'Adulterine Castles,' were dreadful dungeons and every device of torture, where deeds were done too dreadful to describe.

William of Newburgh, near Coxwold, a monk, born at Bridlington in 1135, writes of events happening around him in Stephen's time. A compromise was at last made, autumn 1153, by which Stephen accepted Matilda's son, Henry Count of Anjou, as his successor, his own son Eustace having died at Bury St. St. Edmunds August 1153. The very year in which Stephen had obtained through Henry Murdac the Archbishop of York from the Pope Eugenius the formal recognition of his son Eustace as his successor to the Crown of England.

> 'Then during many years having been distinguished only by the empty name of King, he appeared at this time to assume the substantial enjoyment of such a title, and as it were then first to reign because

he then first rightfully put on the robe of a legitimate prince having wiped out the stain of his tyrranical usurpation.'

Stephen's real kingship was short, less than a year. He died October 25, 1154, and was buried at the monastery of Faversham, which he had founded some years before. How had it been possible, we may wonder, during his incessant warfares to find time, desire and money to found a religious house? Indeed, here is a problem.

'There were now in England, in a certain measure, as many Kings or rather tyrants as there were lords of Castles. Each coining his own money and contending with one another their deadly feuds, filled the fairest districts with rapine and burnings, which deprived a country, lately the most abundant, of nearly its whole staff of bread.'

Yet, strange to say, the age of Stephen was a golden age for the building of religious houses. Near to Newburgh Priory, the Abbeys of Byland, Rievaulx, Fountains, and Jervaulx (1156) were all founded at this time, and it was the same throughout the land. William of Newburgh thought it was God's response to the dreadful Strongholds of wicked men.

'From the Religious houses, even those lately founded, numerous saints went out and dispersed themselves not only through the Provinces of England, but even through Barbarous nations.'

And again:

'It is remarkable that a much larger number of monasteries, for both sexes, were founded in England during the short time that Stephen reigned, or more properly attained the title of King, than had been for a century preceding.'

It was, too, the age when in literature the medieval Latin Lyrics began to be at their best (Miss Helen Waddell, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*). Whatever Stephen's motives may have been in seizing the Crown, they may have been higher than is usually thought, for England undoubtedly needed a strong ruler. The pillaging, murderous Scots were flooding the north, and Stephen's action was supported by William the Archbishop of Canterbury, who crowned him, and by Roger the Bishop of Winchester. Matilda, by her very sex, seemed a weakness. England had had no experience of a woman sovereign.

So Stephen the usurper stands in the York Minster Screen, but with no Royal Robes, and English people had to endure nineteen years of torture before Matilda's son, Henry (II), came to deliver her, as was hoped, out of all her troubles. When he came, what a power was his! His kingdom stretched from Scotland to Spain.

HAROLD ANSON

1867-1954

By the Editor

FOLLOWING close on the death of Dean Inge, another notable member of the Modern Churchmen's Union and for many years its Vice-President, Canon Harold Anson, Master of the Temple, has passed away. A son of Canon Frederick Anson of Windsor, his mother a daughter of the fifth Lord Vernon, Harold Anson, a thirteenth child, never knew what it was to have a suit of new clothes, as he had to wear those which his elder brothers had outgrown. Educated at Clifton and Christ Church, Oxford, he became warmly attached to Canon Liddon, but was delivered from his rigid Puseyite Tractarianism by having Dr. T. B. Strong as his tutor. Of Liddon he had many amusing stories to tell. Liddon, walking with Anson and others in an Oxford meadow, picked a clover leaf and said :

> ' Is it possible, dear friend, to believe that this clover was created for any other purpose than to teach us the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity '?

After reading History and Theology at Christ Church, he entered Cuddesdon, where his most distinguished contemporary was Cosmo Lang. Although he found the social environment of Cuddesdon delightful, its ecclesiastical and theological limitations were uncongenial to him. Anson had had the good fortune to be a denizen of Oxford during a period of remarkable religious transition in which the Tractarian Movement, under the leadership of Charles Gore, Scott-Holland and their fellow-essayists in *Lux Mundi* (published in 1889) modernized itself.

This High Church modernizing movement adopted the results achieved in the field of Old Testament critical analysis maintained and taught with unflinching stubbornness by Canon S. R. Driver in Christ Church : it also adopted the methods and ideals of the Christian Social Union inaugurated by F. D. Maurice and eloquently promulgated by Charles Kingsley and Tom Hughes. And thirdly, mainly under the influence of Gore, it accepted the limitations of Christ's knowledge in the spheres of History and Science while maintaining His spiritual and moral authority. In short, the Oxford Tractarians had surrendered their fortress to English Christian Liberalism, and Canon Liddon ' sank wounded in the house of his friends '— Pusey House — of which Gore had become Head.

Anson, having come under the influence of T. H. Green and Hastings Rashdall in his later days at Oxford, embraced wholeheartedly this promising Liberal Catholicism which united new conceptions of the Bible and of the doctrine of the Incarnation with practical policies of social reform and economic amelioration.

An inspiring account of what this meant to Anson himself appears in his charming autobiography, *Looking Forward* (published in 1938). His modernized faith is thus presented by him in the *Listener* of May 5, 1937 :

> ' God works through the method of Incarnation—*i.e.*, not by preaching to men but by entering into human nature, and showing his will in the actual methods of human living in this world, so that no department of life can to a Christian be secular, since it is intended to be the meeting-place of God and man '.

Of his Anglo-Catholic experience he wrote in the *Listener* of April 28, 1935 :

> ' I feel myself fortunate to have known people so good and so full of cleverness and humour. I felt, however, then, as I feel now, that I had no desire to restore a mediaeval framework to the Church of England, or to express myself, or to teach others to express themselves, in what are commonly called Catholic ceremonies and practices. But I am glad to have seen it at its very best. I hold in great honour those whom I knew who are still in the heart of the movement—and I am glad that I escaped from it, into what I feel is a larger view of the workings of the Providence of God . . .
>
> ' I can see now how my hold upon divine things was strengthened and enlarged by coming under the influence of a Catholic tradition, in which Oxford lived and moved and had its being — the University which Mr. Gladstone called " the God-fearing and God-sustaining University ".'

After his ordination (1890), Anson served in a Metropolitan curacy. After that as domestic chaplain to an English Diocesan bishop (1891—1894). Later, at the invitation of Frederick Wallis, Bishop of Wellington, he emigrated to New Zealand. There he was appointed Vicar of Hawera (1897—1902), a small country town, and it was there that the writer of this brief memoir (as Vicar of Waitotara, 1899—1900) first met Anson and was much impressed by him both as a new type of English clergyman and also by the calm courage with which he adjusted himself to the hardships of colonial clerical life.

Anson was appropriately appointed Warden of St. John's College, Auckland (the oldest academic institution in New Zealand, founded by Bishop George Augustus Selwyn, its first bishop), which he resigned in 1905 and returned to England. After holding various pastoral posts he was appointed Master of the

Temple, where he ministered until bombed out by the Germans in the Second World War.

In this latter period of his life he gave much thought and research to the problems of psychotherapy which, however, he preferred to describe as spiritual healing —' the religious element in physical health.' As Chairman of the Guild of Health, he published in 1923 his practical and interesting volume, *Spiritual Healing* (University of London Press).

BOOK REVIEWS

RABBI MATTUCK AND PROPHETIC RELIGION*

A notable sign of the times is the series of ' Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West ' now being published by Allen & Unwin. It is enheartening in an age of ecclesiasitical and theological indecision and shortsightedness to find that the larger view is cherished by a forward-looking remnant, unintimidated by the calls to retreat or to mark time. The series began in 1950 with a study of Rumi, the Muslim poet and mystic. It has been followed by a number of attractive volumes by competent scholars in the field of Comparative Ethics and Religion. The basic belief inspiring the publishers and general editors (A. J. Arberry, Radhakrishnan, and F. W. Thomas) is that all the great religions have similarities that confirm and differences that enrich man's spiritual outlook. The plan is to present in a collection of handy and inexpensive volumes the whole of mankind's rich legacy of religious thought and ethical endeavour. The publishers claim that the series ' represents an unparalleled achievement in the history of publication '. In an age of perplexity it is a lamp. In an age of fences and folds it permits escape into a larger, freer and more truthful world: the world not of the dead but of the living.

The volume before me *The Thought of the Prophets* is by Rabbi Israel Mattuck, the leader of the Liberal Jewish movement in England. The news of his death comes to me as I write this review.

Dr. Mattuck, who passed away in London on April 3, was born in Lithuania and was educated in the United States where until 1912 he ministered to Jewish congregations, became in that year first minister of the newly formed Liberal Jewish Congregation of London. Among the leaders of that movement were scholars like C. G. Montefiore (whose commentary on the Synoptic Gospels marks, I think, an epoch), Israel Abrahams, the eminent Rabbinic scholar, and Dr. Charles Singer, the distinguished medical historian and philosopher. Dr. Mattuck's contribution to the thought and life of his own people can only be justly estimated by one within the Jewish camp. But here his oecumenical interests and outlook can be noted with sympathy, notably his chairmanship both of the governing body of the World Union for Progressive Judaism and of the Society of Jews and Christians. Inevitably his liberal mind caused contention among his co-religionists, especially in view of the fact that he did not hide his hostility to Zionism.

* *The Thought of the Prophets*, by I. I. Mattuck. (Allen & Unwin, 1953; 9/6.)

This book is a thoughtful appraisal of Jewish prophecy and in its twelve chapters deals with the questions asked by all serious inheritors of Biblical thought—for example, God, the Moral Law, True Religion, the Meaning of History. There is nothing to distinguish its approach and content from that of a liberal Christian student and preacher. Liberals differ in emphasis not in nature, in situation not in substance, in practical application not in principle.

A few citations will suffice to bring this significant book to the notice of Christians.

> 'The experience of the prophets had a mystical quality. It brought an intense awareness of God, like that which made some mystics feel completely absorbed in Him. The Prophets were not mystics in that sense. But they were wholly pervaded by that intense feeling of immediate communion with God which lies at the heart of all mysticism. They were mystics in the sense that they experienced God immediately, without anything between Him and them, with the whole of their being. They gave themselves to Him and He filled them with His spirit . . . "Mysticism" is frequently used in the sense of an abnormal, or supranormal, experience in which men perceive details in the mysteries of heaven and earth. That was not the mysticism of the Prophets; theirs was the mysticism of a personal experience of God raised to such an intensity that they felt themselves so identified—not identical—with Him that they could claim to be one with Him.'
>
> 'The central idea in the Prophets' thought is that God is the Sovereign of the universe, acting in a moral order which expresses, and embodies, His righteousness. They attained it by inspiration, but they were prepared for it by experience, and they interpreted it by reason . . . The truth came to them as in a flash, and it burnt in them constantly with an unquenchable and irresistible fire.'
>
> The right method of interpreting the Prophets 'excludes reading into their words prognostications of future events, or ideas which they could not possibly have had. It must be distinguished from that followed by traditional theoogy which found in the Bible generally authority for later theological dogmas, and in the Prophets' statements about near events prognostications of later events which received a theological import. It must also be distinguished from the homiletical method which merely uses words of the Bible to convey the preacher's thought.'
>
> 'The Prophets do not themselves claim, nor did others claim for them, that they performed miracles (*Is.* xxxviii, 7f. can only be a later legendary invention). If any evidence were needed that miracles are an accretion to, not an element in, the lives of the great religious teachers they supply it conclusively. Isaiah offered King Ahaz a sign, but the sign was only the prediction that within two or three years the kings who threatened to invade Judah would lose their kingdoms (*Is.* vii).'

I think it is fitting to end this notice of a useful book and of a notable series with some words of Dr. Charles Singer in 1943

> 'The rags of ritual and social custom that, for most Christians, and no less, I believe, for most Jews, mar the Jewish religion are the remaining tatters of a civilisation in which it was once clothed. After a history of unique unhappiness, Judaism still hugs these remnants around it, but the very events that have brought Christianity near to collapse have but fortified the Faith of Israel. For within that unlovely garb is a form of superb dignity and beauty. It is the inner prophetic evangel that is no less universal than timeless, nor do I doubt at all that those who have heard

it recognise each other by whatsoever name and whatsoever faith they may outwardly profess. The Prophetic Religion is now as ever one of the great religions of the world. It is not silent, and its voice is not least distinct when it is still and small.'

C. J. WRIGHT

C. E. M. JOAD'S LATEST VOLUME

The fact that this last posthumous book[1] by C. E. M. Joad has a foreword by the late Principal of Pusey House is an indication of how far the erstwhile agnostic had travelled in recent years. Not that *Folly Farm* shews much positive evidence of its author's recovery of belief; its racy dialogues between a certain Mr. Longpast and his friends enable him to express, chiefly through the mouthpiece of the former, his disapproval of all things modern and his lack of hope for the future. Mr. Longpast abominates tinned food and the new Ice Age, and foresees a time when intensive methods of agriculture and the proliferation of council houses will create between them 'a wasteland stretching from London to the coast, studded with a few mummified beauty spots, complete with picture postcards, mineral waters, "cuppas" and ice-cream sold by preserved rustics in smocks' (p. 18). More seriously, he sees in the whole concept of the Welfare State a debasing and depersonalising principle for which the extended range of material comforts provided by it are no adequate compensation. In fact Mr. Longpast is a thorough-going reactionary against the point of view of the 'left wing progressive' which Joad is generally supposed to have represented. It would appear that the author of *Jolly Farm* is speaking for himself when Arthur Logan, Mr. Longpast's sympathetic young friend, explains to Norah Form, 'a precise little woman who inspected under the National Health Act,' how he had once believed—

> 'that Socialism meant the opening of the minds and the enriching of the souls of men and women everywhere, believed, in fact, in my innocence, in the Merrie England of art and song, of Robert Blatchford and William Morris. But how remote is this from the cinemas and dance halls, the dog racing and the dirt track racing, and the omni-prevalent football pools of the Welfare State. Culture is an affair of individuals. It can't be turned on like a tap, either by a Socialist State or by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. What can be centrally provided and distributed is not culture but mass entertainment' (p. 135).

We should not necessarily suspect from this, as the Publishers 'blurb' tells that we may do, that Mr. Longpast had recently written a deeply serious book on Christianity; but nevetheless it is highly significant that his creator had as a matter of fact just done so. Knowing this we may certainly suspect what it was that had led to Mr. Longpast's repudiation of so much that is characteristic of our times.

In any case it is remarkable that this witty and lighthearted book—which includes among its characters Mr. Longpast's much divorced niece, his amorous housekeeper, and Captain Poynter, a Colonel Blimp of very easy morals—should have been written by one who knew himself to be in the last stages of a painful illness when he wrote it. This may suggest that Joad retained too much of an ingrained levity to the end; but the Foreword makes clear that to those who knew him best at the time, it was rather a sign that his newly recovered Christian belief enabled him to look on death unafraid.

D. L. SCOTT

[1] *Folly Farm*, by C. E. M. Joad. (Faber & Faber, 1954; 9/6.)

THE WISDOM OF SIR JAMES BAILLIE

Reflections on life and Religion, by Sir James Baillie* is a valuable and stimulating reminder of an eminent Scottish religious and philosophical thinker who died in 1940. He is remembered chiefly for his published work as an interpreter of Hegel and for his Vice-Chancellorship of Leeds University. The present volume contains a selection from his note-books, labelled *'Privatissima'*, put in orderly form by Sir Walter Moberly and Professor De Selincourt. Like many such books, therefore, it is no systematic treatise, but rather a kind of personal anthology—as the editors justly say, 'the meditative reflections of a resolute seeker after truth'. As such, it will speak to many to-day who are nauseated with the petty and polemical utterances of ecclesiastics and traditionalist theologians.

The best way to bring it to the notice of readers of *The Modern Churchman* is to cite a few of the reflections.

> 'The final and supreme destiny of the scholar is to unite wisdom with kindness, knowledge with love, care for truth with love of man—and without reverence that is not possible'.
>
> 'Christianity as a system of doctrine has tended to depress, or at any rate to repress, the human spirit in the pursuit of the highest forms of human freedom: and this is clearly seen in the emphatic suppression of the human intellect which was so long inculcated as a maxim, and still exists as a sentiment, amongst certain Christians'.
>
> 'It may or may not be true that the human spirit cannot be satisfied by Christianity because Christianity does not meet all its wants and fulfil all its demands: but at any rate it certainly is true that any doctrine or belief which is enunciated in the name of Christianity, and which checks the aspirations of the human spirit after freedom, must be set aside and suppressed'.
>
> 'There is a certain sanity in disbelief: it is the critical attitude towards fixed dogmas, which rests on the fundamental claim that life is richer than any particular statement about it'.
>
> 'Many men mistake the power to think clearly for the power to think the truth: that is confusing the art of the draughtsman with the art of the designer, the washerwoman with the tailor. A statement may be clear because it is true, but it need not be true because it is clear'.
>
> 'Common sense is the wisdom of the passing hour: mysticism is the wisdom of the eternal'.

C.J.W.

THE CONCLUSIONS OF A MODERN MARCION

The author of this book *If Thou Criest after Knowledge*[1] was in his early days a distinguished naval gunnery officer and during the war became the Chief of Fire Staff at the Home Office where he proved himself a very capable fire-brigade organiser. It is obvious from his book that he is a devoted Christian layman who has made a deep and prolonged study of the Bible, at least from his own point of view. In his short introduction he remarks:

> 'Having come to the conclusion that organisation and hierarchy hinder the search for truth, for a number of years he (the author) has no connection with any church or similar organisation.'

* George Allen & Unwin, 1952; 16/-.

[1] *If Thou Criest after Knowledge*, by Sir Aylmer Firebrace, C.B.E. (Allen & Unwin, 1952; 25/-.)

'The author is concerned to show that, just as there is a science of mathematics and of music, so there is a science of God and man, a Science of Reality, even more accurate, practical and demonstrable than are the physical sciences '.

'It is the author's submission that humanity's only hope for the future is to get back to the Bible, and to search out the spiritual Science outlined therein.'

His object thus seems a laudable one, but it soon appears that his point of view is not a completely independent one and is apparently an off-shoot of American Christian Science. Indeed he states,

'The vital subject of a spiritual Science . . . merits the attention of all independent thinkers and philosophers. There is no better starting point for them than the inspired writings of Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science. The author gratefully acknowledges that his study of her writings has provided him with the metaphysical background and basis without which this book could not have been written' (p. 308).

The indebtedness is indeed evident throughout the book.

We soon come upon the typical Christian Scientist teaching on the status of matter.

'Spirit being infinite, its opposite, matter, can have no real existence' (p. 32). 'The senses of Soul are spiritual and wholly independent of matter' (p. 34).

With reference to *Luke* iv, 28-30, he remarks,

'Anyone else would have been killed; but Jesus, knowing that his physical body was insubstantial, *no more than a mental concept,* was able to demonstrate over physical law, and make his escape' (p. 204).

Apparently matter, including the human body, is merely a concept of something called 'the carnal mind' which is not derived from God, and which is the source of all our ills. When an ordinary man kicks a brick wall and finds it substantial,

'all that is happening is that the phyical senses, the derivative of carnal mind, are testifying to the reality and substantiality of the wall, which is itself a consolidation of the same mind' (p. 270).

'(Man) becomes subject to the carnal mind's cruel laws of heredity, disease, decrepitude and many others. The only power behind these laws is mortal thought' (p. 270).

Apparently too the whole course of evolution of the material universe is similarly accounted for. We read, p. 271:

'Having evolved a material universe and a material man, the carnal mind, the one liar, now proceeds to foist the responsibility for what it has done on to God, declaring blandly that the material universe is God-created.'

This explanation of matter is then used to elucidate the Transfiguration, the Resurrection, the Appearances after the Resurrection, and the Ascension, all of which are accepted by the author, but reinterpreted.

'In the cold, unventilated vault, without food, without water to drink —he (Jesus) must over-ride the laws of *materia medica*. Next he must make the unusual demonstration of providing himself with clothes' (p. 227).

'After his resurrection, Jesus was still in the flesh, but—the spiritual was rapidly displacing the last vestiges of the physical' (p. 229).

But we are told, p. 231:

'It was part of his remarkable demonstration that the prints of the nails were still visible, and so afforded confirmation that his body was the self-same body that had hung on the cross.' 'He did this to show that his physical body was functioning normally.'

Coming to the Ascension, however, we are told,

'The last material thought having been relinquished by Jesus, his physical body just disappeared, dissolved, to give place to his spiritual body, the embodiment or consciousness of right ideas. The physical body, held subjectively in thought, could not exist without material thinking' (p. 237).

An abridged quotation from H. A. L. Fisher's book *Our New Religion* (a brief examination of the claims of Christian Science), may not be irrelevant.

'That matter cannot co-operate with spirit is one of the cardinal axioms of *Science and Health* (the C.S. "Bible") . . . Had Mrs. Eddy contented herself with saying that spiritual life is the ultimate basis of reality, or that all happenings are to the percipient facts of consciousness, she would have stood within the bounds of philosophical sanity; but she went much further; she declared that to be illusion within which the major part of the human race find their only reality. She not only denies reality of any kind to all those human experiences, however they may be interpreted by the metaphysicians, out of which mind has built up its conception of reality, but she makes no attempt to relate these experiences in any way to reality. The body is declared to be unreal; the human mind, thinking its ordinary thoughts, is unreal; the whole visible universe is an illusion. It is never explained how these unrealities become present to consciousness, when they arose, or how related—if indeed, they stand in any relation—to the one acknowledged reality. The true nature of the problem of knowledge is not even dimly apprehended' (p. 67).

So far only the very foundation of the author's view has been considered, but something however brief must be added as to his method of using the Bible. Here he has been caught up in what can only be described as a highly elaborate and artificial(?) architectonic. Lack of space forbids anything more than a brief outline of his system of symbolism.

Each of the Seven Days of Creation symbolises a synonym for God in the order: Mind, Spirit, Soul, Principle, Life, Truth, and Love. Then for instance, the Fourth Commandment is interpreted thus:

'This quotation refers to the seven days of Genesis. In the first six the light of wisdom and spiritual power increases, whilst darkness, ignorance (including all that is material), steadily withdraws. In the seventh day there is nothing more to be done; all ignorance, all that is material has gone' (p. 50).

On p. 64 we are told:

'Recent Bible research has brought to light the fact that many, perhaps all, of the scriptural writings are based on one or another of four sequences of the seven synonymous terms.'

These sequences are named Word Sequence, Christ Sequence, Christianity Sequence, Science Sequence. In each of these the same seven symbols for God occur in varying orders which the author gives on p. 64 and a very large

part of the volume is devoted to the interpretation of various parts of the Bible in terms of this 'recently discovered' symbolism. The author must have spent an enormous amount of time and effort in the analysis of passages of the scriptures using this key, and indeed regards this analysis as one of his main purposes.

> 'Unless we are aware of the sequences in which the Books of the Bible are written, it is not posible to arrive at their author's full meaning. As experience in this aspect of Bible analysis is gained, the Scriptures will increasingly yield their secrets' (p. 94).

One or two examples may be cited.

> 'The seven colours of the rainbow provide an admirable symbol for the nature of God as expressed in the seven synonymous terms (Gen. ix, vv. 12-13)—Joseph's coat of many colours is another example.

When Isaac gave Joseph the coat, what is really intended is that

> 'he imparted to him some understanding of the sevenfold nature of God.'

Many of the parables are similarly treated. Taking one at random we may cite the treatment of the parable of the Good Samaritan (pp. 156-158). The 'certain man' is anyone who turns his thoughts from the spiritual (symbolised by Jerusalem, 2,600 ft. above sea-level) to those of the carnal mind (symbolised by Jericho, 825 ft. below sea level). The thieves are the thoughts of the carnal mind robbing him of his raiment (his true consciousness). The priest and Levite passing that way by chance stand for the belief that man is at the mercy of chance and not governed by the operation of divine law.

> 'The Samaritan typifies any individual whose thought is touched by the Christ. The penny symbolises man's true identity. The Samaritan gave two pence and here the "two" typifies the manhood and womanhood of the real man.'

That the Bible contains a great deal of symbolism is common ground, but that the specific systematic symbolism recommended here as giving the true secret meanings of the ninety or so biblical authors, is on the face of it highly improbable, and only by the exercise of great ingenuity and considerable 'torture' can the thesis be applied at all. In any case readers of the book would be well-advised to come to it with their critical faculties fully alert. Whilst we may justly respect the author for his arduous studies of the Bible, and as a most sincere Christian who has himself 'cried after knowledge', we may well doubt his methods and the value of some of his conclusions.

W. H. Axford

DR. RAJU ON IDEALISTIC THOUGHT IN INDIA*

A book by Prof. P. T. Raju of Mysore is sure to merit the careful attention of all serious students of Indian philosophy. In this book, Dr. Raju tells us that his aim is 'to help towards the solution of the Problem of Idealism' (p. 13). He defines Idealism as 'a theory which asserts the reality of the Ideal' and denies that material objects can exist at all without any relation to mind (pp. 69 f.).

In the first six chapters, he traces the development of Idealism in European and Indian philosophy, devoting special attention to Sankara's *Advaitism* and to Buddhism. These chapters are not 'lightly to be enterprised or taken in hand' by the general reader. For Dr. Raju's mind moves on a high plane

**Idealistic Thought in India*, by P. T. Raju. (George Allen & Unwin; 42/-.)

of abstract philosophical concepts, and handles with apparent ease (and often without explanation) technical terms of interminable length. Even some philosophers, we think (unless well-versed in Sanskrit or Pali), will be forced to pause when confronted with such portentous polysyllables as abhidharmavibhasasastri, sarvadarsanasangraha, or mahayanasraddhotpadasastra! (pp. 209, 216).

Chapters vii and viii, however, which deal with contemporary Indian idealists, can be enjoyed even by the non-philosophic reader, for they contain biographical incidents and sketches of character, as well as philosophy. Here, the first place is given to Mahatma Gandhi. Dr. Raju considers that 'it is by studying Gandhi's life and work that we can best understand Indian Idealism' (p. 292). Yet Gandhiji was not primarily a philosopher; 'his philosophy was a way of *life* rather than a way of *thought*.' It sprang (as also in the case of Gautama the Buddha) from an emotional reaction to human suffering; and in the case of Gandhi, this led him finally to the conviction that 'only the underlying Power (God) really exists and abides' (p. 293). This, in Dr. Raju's opinion, makes Gandhi an Idealist. He believed that 'what is *beyond* reason is not necessarily *un*reasonable'; and that 'faith is the appropriation of the experience of men of prayer' (p. 296).

Rabindra Nath Tagore and Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan are cited as idealists who accept the main principle of Sankara, that God must be conceived of intellectually as 'the Absolute,' without qualities or attributes. Nevertheless, they both admit that such a conception gives no scope for real *religion*, and that if we are to *worship* God, we must humanize the Absolute,' and ascribe to it some attributes, such as 'personality' and 'love' (pp. 327, 337-350).

Dr. Raju also includes among Hindu idealists Aurobindu Ghose, once a revolutionary politician, now a mystic, teaching that 'Evolution' is really 'Involution' (returning *back*) into the Absolute Brahman' (p. 303).

It is more surprising to find Krishnamurti (Mrs. Besant's promised World-Messiah) among the idealists; for he is now an extreme sceptic, propounding the paradox that 'all belief is merely ignorance' (p. 307).

The other Hindu philosophers included by Dr. Raju among Hindu idealists—Bhagwan Das, Hiralal Haldar, and K. C. Bhattacharya—are less well known outside India.

The section on idealism in Islamic philosophy contains a brief survey of Sufishm, and an interesting study of Sir Md. Iqbal, who is probably the most famous (and the most incomprehensible) exponent of Islam to-day. Iqbal's insistence on the necessity of self-assertion, and the importance of strengthening 'Desire' and individual personality, offers a sharp antithesis to the main tradition of Hindu idealism. Yet Dr. Raju claims Iqbal, too, as an Indian idealist of a 'personalistic' type (p. 394).

In his last chapter, Dr. Raju gathers up the conclusions to which his exhaustive study has led him. His mind and method are essentially Hindu; but some of his conclusions will, we believe, commend themselves to Christian idealists. For example:

> (1) 'The Absolute (God) is not the negation of the world, but its completion; not a mere "other," but a "more"' (p. 397).

This may offend the Barthians, but will be endorsed by most Christians of other types of thought.

> (2) 'The world depends on the Absolute; not the Absolute on the world' (p. 437).

Put 'God' for 'the Absolute,' and all Christians will agree.

(3) ' Spirit is free, not by escaping from matter, but by transforming matter ' (p. 440).

Is not this very near to what Christians mean by ' the Sacramental principle '?

E. C. Dewick

MUMFORD'S CONDUCT OF LIFE*

The Conduct of Life is the last volume of Lewis Mumford's great work, of which the others bear the titles *Technics and Civilization, The Culture of Cities* and *The Condition of Man.* Their subject is modern civilization, and how modern man can change both it and himself, so that it may bring him more satisfaction, and offer him more scope for the development of his powers. In the closing pages of *The Great Society* Graham Wallas writes how few among the crowds of people in our great cities seem to be happy. What is the cause? Mr. Bertrand Russell in a recent broadcast said that modern civilization does not give ordinary people enough opportunities for glory—Mr. Mumford explains the trouble as a consequence of pressing the scientific method too far—

> ' Originally people conceived themselves as living in a wholly self-contained world, designed for their private purposes. In overcoming his illusions about this world, modern man, since Copernicus, often also lost interest in himself, and in purposes and ends that both created and directed, but also transcended himself. Though he explored, with increasing success, both astronomical space and molecular space, he lost sight of his inner world and tended to defame the special capacities he exhibited: the capacity for detached evaluation, for rational interpretation, for purposeful anticipations and significant dreams. To-day, fortunately, modern man has returned, by way of positive science, to the very attributes of personality he thought a few centuries ago he had dismissed for ever ' (p. 7).

And again

> ' The world as conceived by Galileo, Newton and Descartes was a world in which color, form, pattern were meaningless, unless as mathematical quantities, and in which feeling and desire and imagination were disreputable ' (p. 202).

Feeling, desire and imagination are a large part of the genius of every great scientist. Scientists ' have set an example of high spiritual devotion, untainted by the pomps and lusts of a wicked world '. Devotion to the discovery of truth is a spiritual quality; and no scientific hypothesis can be conceived without imagination. These are some of the truths which have been made clearer by the advance of the sciences of man, anthropology, sociology, psychology and the rest. Mr. Mumford has many interesting things to say about them, for instance about the functions of language and of dreams in human life; his purpose is to bring man back to the attributes of personality, to the study of man in society, to restore his interest in ' purposes and ends that both created and directed but also transcended himself.'

This is to follow a course quite opposite to that taken by the founders of modern science. Laplace told Napoleon that in his astronomical theories he had no need of the hypothesis of God—scientists made their discoveries by setting aside final causes altogether, by concentrating on secondary causes.

* *The Conduct of Life*, by Lewis Mumford. (Secker & Warburg, London, 1952; 21/-.)

alone—but man must believe that his life has meaning and purpose, if he is to develop his powers and be happy—

> 'What is man's role as interpreter and transformer of Nature? To what purpose does he fabricate his many historic selves? Of what use are the unanswerable questions of classic religion?'

These are some of the problems for which Mr. Mumford tries to find solutions. He says that a new type of man is needed in order to make the inhuman tendencies of modern life beneficial to man or to overcome them, and he finds an outstanding example of this type in a man of religion, Albert Schweitzer. But his chapter on religion, and especially on the Christian religion is disappointing. For instance his comment on Schweitzer 'that he had *demonstrated* (italics mine) that Jesus regarded the approaching end of the world as a determining factor in human conduct', is a summary much more false than true of present opinion on the eschatological theory. Mr. Mumford understands the importance of religion. 'In terms of positive science most of the questions religion puts are unanswerable questions.' But 'once man achieves consciousness, there is no way of casting off these questions or of evading a provisional answer, without repressing an essential quality in life itself' (p. 59).

> 'Religion concerns itself with the reaction of man in his wholeness to the whole that embraces him. Instead of abandoning religion as science extends the province of objective description, we must rather increase its scope, so that our subjective contributions will be as adequate and as disciplined as our objective descriptions' (p. 90).

So far so good. But Mr. Mumford feels impelled to renounce belief in God the creator and all-wise author of the universe, because of the problem of evil. But what about the problem of good? He believes instead in an emerging deity, and one who has so far emerged a very little way.

> 'If the universe, as the physicists now suppose, has taken some three billion years to come forth out of chaos and old night, God is the faint glimmering of a design still fully to emerge, a rationality still to be achieved, a justice still to be established, a love still to be fulfilled' (p. 75).

This is a very slight foundation on which to build a religious faith! But Mr. Mumford is confident that it can and must be built.

> 'Religion re-establishes man where he belongs in the scale of significance: at the very centre of the universe he consciously embraces and interprets. Without excessive pride, we may still nourish the hope that one day man will discover a more viable way than even the saints have yet found to nourish and enlarge the province of the divine. What man still finds within him only at rare moments, he may yet project and establish in the world outside: the beginning if not the completion of the Kingdom of God' (p. 91).

J. K. NETTLEFOLD

LESSONS FROM THE PRAYER BOOK CALENDAR

An Anglican Year,[1] written by an experienced Anglican pastor and chaplain, will be found very useful for those engaged in teaching in the schools and giving popular addresses in the pulpit.

A comprehensive and carefully arranged order of Christian Doctrine is provided by our church seasons with their appropriate collects and Scriptural

[1] *An Anglican Year*, by the Rev. Donald A. Foster. (Skeffington, 1953; 5/-.)

readings. In expounding this teaching it is no easy matter to distinguish the essential from the non-essential. The author of this little book exhibits a fine practical judgment in his treatment of his themes and strives successfully to be loyal to the present as well as to the past.

The least valuable part of this book is concerned with *Holy Days which may be commemorated.* Many of these might well be omitted and there are many inspiring personalities in our national history who ought to be included and we hope will be included when our Church Calendar has completed its long drawn out revision. It is worse than absurd to have no liturgical commemoration of any of our English saints since the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Is this because the papal authorities do not regard them as fit subjects for canonisation?

Nevertheless, Mr. Donald Foster dares to regard the post-Reformation Charles I, King and Martyr, as worthy of a place in our Calendar Commemoration and complains that it had been removed from the Prayer Book without authority. The same complaint might be made against the exclusion of the Thanksgiving Service for the failure of the Popish plot of November 5.

We venture to conclude with a practical suggestion. If the first 115 pages restricted to the Sundays and Red Letter Saints' Days could be published as a separate volume and issued at not more than 2/-, it would be possible to present it to candidates for confirmation as a most helpful reminder of their obligations to observe 'the Christian Year.'

H.D.A.M.

THE AMERICAN REVISED STANDARD VERSION OF THE BIBLE

In a quiet garden on the Thames Embankment stands the statue of William Tyndale, the translator and martyr of the first printed English Bible. Owing to the persecuting zeal of Tudor Catholicism the first English printed Bible was not printed in England but in various continental printing presses. Tyndale's octavo edition of the New Testament was published in Worms in 1526.

John Wyclif, who a century and a half earlier had translated and circulated the Bible in manuscript for the 'Common people' of England made his version from the Latin (Vulgate). But for his version Tyndale made use of the available Greek and Hebrew sources and was indebted to the critical scholarship of Erasmus whose Greek New Testament was published in 1516. Tyndale's version thrice revised by himself became the basis of all subsequent English versions including our great Biblical classic, the Authorized Version of 1611, which retains from 80 to 90 per cent of Tyndale's vocabulary and reflects the most arresting features of his style. Our English Revised Version of 1881 made a most valuable contribution to the Authorized Version by its marginal variants based on ancient texts not available to the scholars who produced the Authorized Version. These marginal variants in nearly all cases are more accurate than their parallels in the text.

It is these marginal variants which have at last found a place in the text itself in the latest of English Bible versions achieved by American scholarship and entitled *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version* (Nelsons, price 30/-). This insertion of the marginal variants into the Bible text is the main feature of value in the new American version (R.S.V.) which is itself a revision of the American standard version of 1901.

The latest American version (in the production of which Canada shares with the U.S.A.) is the work of some 30 scholars representing over 40 Protestant denominations in the New World, and has taken some 20 years to

produce. That this American version will achieve a very large circulation in the New World we have no doubt. It has already sold some two million copies. But in England it may be otherwise where general Bible reading is unfortunately becoming more and more restricted to clergymen and school teachers.

To our mind the weakness of the R.S.V. is its attack on the antiquarianism of the vocabulary and grammatical structure of the Authorized Version. The scholars who produced the R.V. were branded as 'gerund-grinders': the revisers of the R.S.V. seem to us to be in a number of cases irritating iconoclasts who claim to have replaced 'archaic forms of expression . . . by the language of to-day'. But in reality they have replaced classical and dramatic English by a modern pedestrian vernacular *e.g. thou* and *thee* are replaced by *you* and the verbal terminations *est* and *edst* by modern vernacular forms. Vanity of Vanities all is vanity *saith* the Preacher becomes *says* the Preacher. In the same chapter '*acceptable* words' becomes '*pleasing* words'. We fancy that the 'Masters of Assemblies' would have winced at these corrections The following exemplify this modernising method. 'As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth I will not leave thee' becomes 'as the Lord lives and as you yourself live I will not leave you' (*II Kings* ii, 2). 'Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise' becomes 'Truly I say to you, to-day you will be with me in Paradise' (*Lk.* xxiii, 43). *Rev.* xxii, 20 'Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come Lord Jesus' becomes 'Surely I am coming soon. Amen. Come Lord Jesus'.

We value one change made by R.S.V. The philological anomaly *Jehovah* is replaced by the *Lord.*

There are remarkable instances where the English translation in the A.V. and Prayer Book Psalter are superior to the original Hebrew *e.g.*

(*a*) 'Worship the Lord in *the beauty of holiness*' (*Ps.* cx, 3).
(*b*) 'The iron entered into his soul' (*Ps.* cv, 18).
(*c*) 'The valley of the shadow of death' (*Ps.* xxiii, 4).

R.S.V. has in place of (*a*) 'upon the holy mountains' or in footnote 'in holy array.' In the case of (*b*) 'his neck was put in a collar of iron.' In the case of (*c*) the R.S.V. retains the archaic and literal version but gives in a footnote the idiomatic translation of the Hebrew, *the valley of deep darkness.*

Obviously, R.S.V. cannot become a Biblical classic like A.V. but for readers who are not scholars R.S.V. provides an intelligible, but pedestrian translation and although not suitable for reading aloud at Divine Worship the R.S.V. will serve a useful purpose in Bible Study circles.

H.D.A M.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE LUKAN LITERATURE

SIR,

My attention has been called to Mr. R. Leaney's article on Mr. R. Koh's 'The Writings of St. Luke,' which appeared in *The Modern Churchman* for December, 1953. I am glad to hear of Mr. Koh's work, of which I had not known, as in a review of the late Dr. W. L. Knox's *The Acts of the Apostles* in the *Journal of Theological Studies,* xlix, 1948, p. 204, I had thrown out the hint that '*Acts* may have been written after a compilation of Q and L material and before the third Gospel as we have it.' Having repeated this in the second edition of A. H. McNeile's *Introduction,* 1953, p. 34, I tried to

present a case for it in the *Expository Times,* June, 1953, pp. 283 f., without being committed to the theory of Proto-Luke but to 'an early draft of Gospel material such as Proto-Luke,' being well aware from working one summer under the auspices of Prof. M. Goguel what holes can be made in Streeter's original theory of Proto-Luke, as well as from a study of Goguel's article in the *Harvard Theological Review,* 26, 1933.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND MRS. EDDY

SIR,

I have read with a great deal of interest the references to Christian Science and its Discoverer and Founder, Mary Baker Eddy, in your issue for March, 1954.

It is true that Mrs. Eddy was at one time a patient of a drugless healer named Quimby. For a time she benefited by his treatment but later relapsed. Mrs. Eddy has written warmly of Quimby as a man. But he was a mesmerist and Christian Science does not employ mesmerism in its practice, but depends upon a spiritual understanding of the true nature of God and man and their relationship to one another. The method of Christian Science healing is not derived from mesmerism.

After making provision for her son Mrs. Eddy bequeathed her estate for the promotion of the religion she founded.

Mrs. Eddy was well educated for her time and early contributed to local newspapers. In his book *Christian Science* Mark Twain wrote critically of Mrs. Eddy and of Christian Science. His daughter records that later he changed his views and that he gave the opinion that Mrs. Eddy 'is the benefactor of the age.' Those who have benefited spiritually and physically from her teaching gratefully echo this judgment. Of herself Mrs. Eddy wrote in the *New York Herald,* 'What I am remains to be proved by the good I do' (*The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellany,* p. 303).

COLIN R. EDDISON

Christian Science Committee on Publication.